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**CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION IN ANCIENT
ROMAN DOMESTIC SPACE:
THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN, POMPEII.**

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ABSTRACT

The study considers the different forms of conspicuous consumption displayed within Roman domestic spaces, with particular focus on the House of the Faun in Pompeii. Sumptuary laws aimed at women were used to identify how women displayed conspicuous consumption, which is used to identify the domestic display of conspicuous consumption from early second century BCE until 79 CE when Pompeii was destroyed.

The house and the woman were equated because both are extensions of the *paterfamilias*. Thus, by firstly indicating that women in fact displayed conspicuous consumption and by utilising sumptuary laws, it is possible to demonstrate that conspicuous consumption was displayed in the *domus* even though no sumptuary laws existed aimed at the *domus*. The structure of the house is analysed as if it were women's clothing and parameters for the basic layout of the house are established to indicate how those displaying conspicuous consumption deviated from the basic plan. In addition, parameters are similarly determined to analyse wall and floor art, furniture and sculptures, gardens, and water features that determine how conspicuous consumption was displayed in the House of the Faun.

The concept of conspicuous consumption has to be understood as well as the socio-economic circumstances under which it manifested during the Republic. The next key concept is Roman women and how they were a vehicle for conspicuous display in the private and public sphere. An analogy is created that equates the woman to the house in order to identify certain forms of conspicuous consumption. After identifying the ways women displayed status, the display of status in the *domus* is discussed from the outside inward, in other words, from the architectural structure moving inward to art, gardens and movable features.

KEYWORDS

Architecture

Art

Conspicuous consumption

Display of status

Domus

Furniture

Gardens

House of the Faun

Pompeii

Roman domestic space

Roman women

Status display

Sumptuary laws

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All abbreviations for primary sources are according to Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4th edition, except for the following:

Liv. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*

Plaut. *Aul.* Plautus, *Aulularia*

Plaut. *Epid.* Plautus, *Epidicus*

Abbreviation for secondary sources:

MANN *Museo Archeologica Nazionale di Napoli* (National
Archaeological Museum of Naples)

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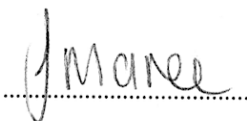
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.....

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH TOPIC

The purpose of this study is to determine the different forms of conspicuous consumption displayed within Roman domestic spaces. It will enrich the understanding of conspicuous consumption in the Roman domestic sphere by taking Roman women and sumptuary laws as the point of departure. Particular focus will be placed on the House of the Faun, which was owned by wealthy members of society in Pompeii, southwest Italy. The different ways women displayed status will be identified in order to identify conspicuous consumption within the houses of the wealthy from early second century BCE until the eruption of the volcano Vesuvius in 79 CE when Pompeii was buried under ash.

Conspicuous consumption is when a product or service is acquired in excess and no longer just to fulfil a basic need, but in order to display social status.¹ Conspicuous consumption, such as women wearing multi-coloured and/or purple clothing,² in ancient Rome was often limited or banned by sumptuary laws.³ These sumptuary laws will be used to help identify different forms of conspicuous consumption, which will highlight the display of social status within the house, as there is no known law from Ancient Rome, Republic or Empire, against the display of social status by means of conspicuous consumption within houses.⁴ The fact that numerous sumptuary laws were instituted shows that conspicuous consumption was present during the Republic, but it is unclear why houses were not included in these restrictive laws. This

¹ Veblen, 2013: 36.

² Nichols, 2010: 43.

³ Rosivach, 2006: 1. Historically speaking, Rome encompasses the entire Roman Republic and/or Empire, this included Rome, the city, itself, Italy and all other conquered regions, foreign and local (Rodgers, 2008: 115).

⁴ Nichols, 2010: 43. Rosivach (2006: 2) states that there were no laws to limit extravagant expenses such as houses, décor or slaves.

discrepancy in the sumptuary laws raises the question as to whether conspicuous consumption was in fact displayed in the house, and if so, how it was displayed and to what extent.

The House of the Faun was one of the biggest private residences in Pompeii, taking up an entire *insula* (“block”), and represents one of the wealthiest houses built during the Republic.⁵ The House of the Faun will therefore be the foundation of this study and will be examined in conjunction with archaeological evidence from similar houses, as well as ancient literary sources such as Vitruvius *De Architectura* and Pliny *Naturalis Historia*. To my knowledge, the topics of the domestic space, conspicuous consumption, women, and the House of the Faun, have not yet been brought together in one study.

1.2 DEFINING KEY TERMS

The following terms will be used throughout this study and it is therefore important to understand the various debates and meanings connected to each term and the way in which they will be used in this study.

1.2.1 Conspicuous Consumption

Conspicuous consumption, according to Veblen, is when wealth is used in order to acquire a product or service in excess. The product/service thus no longer fulfils just a basic need but displays or increases social status.⁶ When it comes to the elite, their needs in terms of domestic and interior goods may go beyond the ordinary, that is, exquisite, scarce or admirable goods to indicate achievement, success and wealth.

⁵ Richardson, 1988: 116. Also see Hoffmann & Faber (2009: 20). See Addendum C for sizes of houses discussed in this study.

⁶ Veblen, 2013: 36. Studies on Veblen: see Campbell (1995: 37-47); Bagwell & Bernheim (1996: 349-373); Edgell (1999: 99-125); Basmann, Molina & Slottje (1988: 531-535). Trigg (2001: 99-115) examined conspicuous consumption and the criticism against Veblen and compared Veblen and Bourdieu’s works. The “consumer psychology” behind conspicuous consumption will not be discussed or considered in this study as this study will focus on determining how it was displayed and not why.

Goods provide two distinct functions, namely the “serviceability” and the “honorific” function. The ability of a product to achieve its purpose is referred to as the “serviceability”, whereas the “honorific” aspect is the ability of a product to display not only the function, but also the status they afford.⁷ Conspicuous consumption is often driven by two aspects, namely “the bandwagon effect” and “the snob effect”. The need to be associated with the rich, and the increase in the demand for goods because others are buying them, is known as the “bandwagon” effect. The “snob” effect is when people buy exclusive goods to indicate that they can afford them because they are wealthy, and in particular that they are not to be associated with the poor.⁸ The “Veblen effect” is when the price of a product signals the quality and status of the goods,⁹ thus being an aspect of the “bandwagon” and “snob” effect.¹⁰ The concept of conspicuous consumption is difficult to measure, especially because users do not recognise that conspicuous consumption is taking place, and conspicuous consumption has a different meaning to different people.¹¹

Related to the concept of conspicuous consumption, and often used interchangeably,¹² however a separate occurrence, is status consumption. The process by which individuals are motivated to improve their social status through conspicuous consumption is known as status consumption.¹³ Status consumption is thus based on conspicuous consumption.¹⁴ Regardless of social status, status consumption is the desire for status that drives consumers.¹⁵ Consumption with the purpose of inflating one’s ego by displaying wealth and status is thus conspicuous consumption, whereas status consumption is an attempt to gain status,¹⁶ however

⁷ Veblen, 2013: 40.

⁸ Corneo & Jeanne, 1997: 56. Also see Page (1992: 83).

⁹ Leibenstein, 1950: 189.

¹⁰ Corneo & Jeanne, 1997: 56.

¹¹ Bergman, 2010: 10.

¹² Chipp, Kleyn & Manzi, 2011: 118.

¹³ Eastman, Goldsmith & Flynn, 1999: 42.

¹⁴ O’Cass & Frost, 2002: 68.

¹⁵ Eastman *et al.*, 1999: 41.

¹⁶ O’Cass & Frost, 2002: 68.

this only applies when peers or significant others also regard the product as prestigious.¹⁷

Another concept linked to status and conspicuous consumption is materialism.¹⁸ Materialism is when a consumer attaches significant meaning to worldly possessions¹⁹ and “focuses on the acquisition of specific material goods that confer status”, thus causing the process of status consumption.²⁰ A materialistic person is concerned with their public image, which is portrayed through their belongings.²¹ The characteristics that drive materialism are non-generosity, possessiveness and envy.²² Possessions are central to both status consumption and materialism and the difference lies in the status of the possession. Status consumption only values possessions in terms of the perceived status it provides the consumer.²³ Anyone, lower or upper class, can be materialistic, whereas not everyone necessarily wants the “status” of a product. Not all materialistic consumers buy for status, and not all status consumption is of the product of being materialistic.

Trigg explains that the most important factor in determining consumer behaviour, across all social classes, is conspicuous consumption.²⁴ The wealthy in Pompeii already achieved status, whether they were aristocratic or newly rich freedmen, thus they could merely display their higher social status through conspicuous

¹⁷ Belk (1988: 153). Also see Clark, Zboja & Goldsmith (2007: 47); Friedman & Ostrov (2008: 122); and Goldsmith & Clark (2012: 44).

¹⁸ The concepts of vanity (Netemeyer, Burton & Lichtenstein, 1995) and symbolic consumption (Hogg, Banister & Stephenson, 2007) are also related.

¹⁹ Belk, 1984: 291. See Belk (1984: 291-297) and (1985: 265-280) for his materialism scale.

²⁰ Goldsmith & Clark, 2012: 45.

²¹ Heaney, Goldsmith & Jusoh, 2005: 95.

²² Belk, 1985: 267.

²³ Eastman *et al.*, 1999: 43. Also see Goldsmith & Clark (2012: 56).

²⁴ Trigg, 2001: 101. “Each social class tries to emulate the consumption behaviour of the class above it, to such an extent that even the poorest people are subject to pressures to engage in conspicuous consumption” (Trigg, 2001: 101). This leads to what is referred to as the “trickle-down effect”, in other words the consumption trends of the upper-class spreads to the middle class and from the middle class to lower classes (Trigg, 2001: 106). Also see Linssen, Van Kempen & Kraaykamp (2011: 57-72).

consumption. Therefore, the term conspicuous consumption is used in this study, as it explains the phenomenon of displaying status in Pompeii.²⁵

1.2.2 The Home

Not only does the home have different meanings to different people and cultures, but the concept of “home” has multiple facets. In the simplest terms, when a person attaches meaning to any form of dwelling place it becomes a home.²⁶ The home is also an important locus for expressing individuality and where relationships are developed.²⁷ A house, the physical structure, only becomes a home through its symbolic significance to the owner. A house becomes an expression of a person’s self-worth and self-image: by displaying perceived and actual status; also, by associating oneself with a community or group.²⁸ The psychological transformation of a house into a home happens through the choice of area, the specific style of house, and by personalising the space through the incorporation of selected interior goods, furnishings and art.²⁹ By converting any physical structure into a home, a concrete entity is modified to support the self-image, and to express self-identity and social affiliation.³⁰ This is done through shared symbolic meaning,³¹ which in this

²⁵ When conspicuous consumption is mentioned in works concerning Roman history, it is used without explanation, usually together with concepts such as luxury and extravagance, for example: Davies (1984: 311); Woolf (1990: 212); Bergmann (1994: 255); Laurence (1996: 8); Storey (1999: 231); Dalby (2000: 122); Allison (2001: 198); D’Arms (2004: 428); Flower (2004: 8); Morley (2004: 72); Jones & Robinson (2005: 700); Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones (2007: 144); Croom (2007: 38); Thomas (2007: 6, 71); Elliott (2008: 179); Ray (2009); Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka (2010); Hope (2010: 110); Roman & Roman (2010: 36); Roselaar (2010: 148); Russell (2011: 124); James & Dillon (2012: 86); Aylward (2014: 465); Dillon & Garland (2015: 59-65); Perry (2015: 483, 495); Wilkins & Nadeau (2015).

²⁶ The dwelling is the relationship between man and space that is manifested in the physical structures of buildings. These buildings are generally referred to as housing (Heidegger, 1971: 8). The private dwelling will be investigated in this study, which is of personal nature where one’s personal identity is developed, and expressed as one’s *home* (Rengel, 2003: 52).

²⁷ Gunter, 2000: 160.

²⁸ Sixsmith, 1986: 282. Also see Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton (1981).

²⁹ Sixsmith, 1986: 282.

³⁰ Harris & Brown, 1996: 188. Also see Sixsmith (1986: 282).

³¹ Low, 2006: 128. Also see Harris & Brown (1996: 201). It is only through human experience that space has meaning (Russell, 2001: 5). Symbolic meaning does not only pertain to conspicuous consumption; however, it will only be attributed to conspicuous consumption in this study, no other influences or meanings will be considered.

study is considered to be the recognised and shared symbols used during conspicuous consumption.

Each social group structures their home environment differently as changes in family life cycles are handled differently, and activities and behaviours of people differ.³² For example, in ancient Rome a wealthy patron needed an *atrium* (“courtyard”) and *tablinum* (“office”) to receive all his clients, whereas lower-class men did not have the need for such rooms; typically, they visited wealthy patrons instead of receiving clients themselves (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1.). According to Hales, rituals that were central to Roman behaviour and identity stemmed from the *domus* (“home”), meaning that the *domus* was a primary aspect of an individual’s *Romanitas*.³³ *Romanitas* was not so much about race as it was about Roman morals and living by these moral codes.³⁴ Effectively the process of constructing a home was similar for the ancient Romans, in other words, a house had meaning and the owner had gone through the psychological process of turning it into a home where identity (self-image and self-identity) and social affiliation (social hierarchy and social status) were displayed through the process of conspicuous consumption. However, the use and function of the home differed from the modern concept of the home.

The wealthy Roman *domus* differed from the modern home in the sense that it was foremost a space for business,³⁵ where the *patronus* (“patron”) received *clientes* (“clients”) to conduct the daily *salutatio* (“greeting ritual”).³⁶ Hence, the focus was on the public aspect of the house, so there was a need for elegance and grandeur within spaces with a great deal of social interaction.³⁷ The public spaces of a house of an aristocratic *patronus* might be relatively grander than those in the house of an equestrian *patronus*. One’s involvement in the *salutatio* had a direct connection to

³² Ahrentzen, Levine & Michelson, 1989: 92.

³³ Hales, 2003: 18.

³⁴ Hales, 2003: 13, 14.

³⁵ Russell, 2001: 11.

³⁶ Hales, 2003: 19.

³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 11.

one's place in the social hierarchy and social status.³⁸ The status of *clientes* determined their accessibility to the house: for some, access was limited to the *atrium*; others were limited to the entryway.³⁹

It was vital for a Roman to display true *Romanitas* not only when out in public, but also domestically, architecturally and decoratively. The Roman family had the opportunity to express their identity and establish their *Romanitas* within the community through their *domus*.⁴⁰ For example, an impressive doorway or a raised pavement was created in front of an entrance to force people passing by to notice the house and see the owners' *Romanitas* and private identity projected into the public arena.⁴¹ The *domus* was not only a social space used for business, but also a domestic living space for permanent occupants such as family members and slaves.

The Romanness of families was not only conveyed in public settings, but in the architecture of their houses. Hales explains: "The Roman *domus* becomes the medium through which the Roman family communicated with the wider community and expressed and justified their place in that society... so a *domus* conveyed the identity of the family who inhabited it. As a result, the ritual life of Rome originated from and referred back to the *domus*. The house was at the very centre of Roman behaviour."⁴²

1.2.3 Public and Private Space

Public and private space is another important concept to understand in terms of the Roman *domus*. All physical structures can either be considered as private or public.⁴³ A private, or domestic, structure is inhabited by a person or a group of people and is

³⁸ Ellis, 2000: 5. Also see Lintott (1990: 6).

³⁹ Russell, 2001: 11.

⁴⁰ Hales, 2003: 18.

⁴¹ Russell, 2001: 11.

⁴² Hales, 2003: 18.

⁴³ See Laurence (1996) for the social identity and public sphere of Roman Pompeii.

often personal and holds an emotional connection, such as a home.⁴⁴ A public area or structure is essentially a space that is “non-residential”.⁴⁵

However, both the concepts of public and private are applicable within the setting of the home. Romans did not have the same conception of public and private spaces as we do today. While the modern home is understood as a private space, the *domus* was foremost a business space.⁴⁶ As the *domus* was in a sense open to outsiders, the rituals performed within the house determined the privacy of spaces in relation to one another.⁴⁷ It is important to define the house as a domestic structure, with various degrees of private and public spaces within the house. A house was a “private”, as opposed to a “public”, non-residential structure, but the inhabitants could allow people not residing in the house to enter the house for a certain amount of time, which made certain areas relatively public.⁴⁸ Varying degrees of public and private meant that part of the house was more public and certain areas were more private,⁴⁹ for example, the *triclinium* (“dining room”) was more private compared to the *atrium*, yet the *cubiculum* (“bedroom”) was more private than the *triclinium*.⁵⁰ Romans also adopted elements of Hellenistic public, mostly religious, and palace architecture within their domestic architecture and decoration. In other words, architectural features that was associated with the public sphere within the domestic space created even more of a conceptual overlap between public and private spaces.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Grahame, 1997: 138-139.

⁴⁵ Russell, 2001: 6. Also see Fain (2004: 10).

⁴⁶ Russell, 2001: 9. The concept of space has been discussed and philosophized many times, however the various arguments and concepts are not at issue in this study.

⁴⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 17.

⁴⁸ Russell, 2001: 9. Also see Allison (2006: 348) and Cova (2013: 387).

⁴⁹ Sixsmith, 1986: 290. The public space, or “front regions”, of a house, ancient and modern, are where social interactions take place. The “back regions” are private and hidden, where personal activities take place (McCorquodale, 1983: 15). See Rechavi (2009: 133-143) for the public and private aspects of modern living rooms.

⁵⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 17.

⁵¹ Russell, 2001: 12.

1.2.4 Social Class, Aristocracy and Elite

Social class and status are important when determining conspicuous consumption within the house, as wealth is key in being able to afford extravagant and expensive goods and services to display.⁵² The patrician class was considered to be aristocracy or upper class, which was the highest order.⁵³ This ascribed status automatically meant wealth, political power and high social rank.⁵⁴ The patrician families effectively ruled the state through participation in the senate and magistracies,⁵⁵ with the *equites* (“equestrian class or elites”) ranking just below them.⁵⁶ The *equites* only started gaining economic power during the second century BCE.⁵⁷ The newly rich freedmen could also be considered as elite, but not of high class. Clarke defines “elite” as freeborn citizens with great wealth and a family history of military or state service. To be considered part of the upper-class elite one had to have “money, important public appointments, social prestige, and a membership in an *ordo*”.⁵⁸

Some scholars use the terms aristocracy and elite interchangeably when referring to the ruling class, which was the patricians.⁵⁹ Other related terms are also used to describe the wealthy Romans, such as *nobiles* (noble),⁶⁰ non-aristocratic wealthy Romans, wealthy non-elite Romans, senatorial elite,⁶¹ upper elite,⁶² and quasi-

⁵² Within a society, the rank a person or group holds is referred to as social status. Social status and social class are usually used interchangeably, however sociologists make a distinction between the two terms (Schooler, 2005: 262), which is not relevant to this study. Luxury was not limited to the patrician class, it extended to the wealthy, “non-aristocratic” classes, meaning the *equites* as well (Silver, 2007: 248).

⁵³ Thomas, Van der Merwe & Stoop, 2000: 24.

⁵⁴ North, 1990: 285.

⁵⁵ Thomas *et al.*, 2000: 24. Also see North (1990: 285) and Veyne (1997: 114).

⁵⁶ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 59.

⁵⁷ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 3.

⁵⁸ Clarke, 2003: 4. Also see Veyne (1997: 95). See Gordon (1927) on the governing classes or *ordo* of Pompeii.

⁵⁹ North, 1990: 278. North also specifically refers to the senate and magistracies as the ruling elite. Veyne (1997: 114-115) refers to the governing elite, nobility and aristocracy.

⁶⁰ North, 1990: 280.

⁶¹ Silver, 2007: 348-9. Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 66) also mentions senatorial elite.

⁶² Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 103.

elite.⁶³ Wallace-Hadrill also refers to aristocrats as urban elites, aristocracy, and nobility.⁶⁴

Therefore, to cover all these social classes that could afford to display status and riches (the patrician, equestrian and newly rich freedman), the term “the wealthy” will be used in this study so as to prevent referring to a specific class and causing unintentional inaccuracies. Levels of conspicuous consumption were possible across classes; however, the purpose of this study is to identify conspicuous consumption only in the houses of the wealthy and not across the different social classes.⁶⁵

1.2.5 Sumptuary Laws

Leges sumptuariae (“sumptuary laws”) were a concept known during the Republic but were aimed at lavish food expenses at banquets.⁶⁶ Cato also mentioned *sumptuariae leges cibariae* (“food sumptuary laws”) (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.17.13). Such laws included the *lex Orchia*, *lex Fannia*, *lex Antia*.⁶⁷ Other laws, such as the *lex Oppia*, that was aimed at limiting the consumption of luxury goods, were not acknowledged as “sumptuary” laws.⁶⁸ However, Nichols includes laws like the *lex Orchia* and *lex Oppia* in his study of sumptuary laws.⁶⁹ Brundage and Berry also include the restriction of female clothing, such as the *lex Oppia* and *lex Aemilia Sumptuaria*, in their definition of sumptuary laws.⁷⁰ For this study, the term “sumptuary laws” will be used for any regulation or law limiting conspicuous consumption during the Roman Republic.

⁶³ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 120.

⁶⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994.

⁶⁵ See section 1.3.1 on conspicuous consumption for the “bandwagon” and “snob” effect.

⁶⁶ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 2.

⁶⁷ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 6. See Addendum B for a short explanation of the laws.

⁶⁸ Rosivach, 2006: 1. Also see Silver (2007: 347) and Berry (1994: 74-86).

⁶⁹ Nichols, 2010: 43.

⁷⁰ Brundage, 1987: 343. Also see Berry (1994: 76).

1.2.6 The House of the Faun

An understanding of the House of the Faun is necessary as it is mentioned multiple times before the actual house is discussed. The House of the Faun occupies an entire *insula*, namely Insula 12, located in Region VI, as set out by modern scholars (Figure 4.6).⁷¹ This private residence of 2 865 m²,⁷² is situated between *Via della Fortuna*, *Vicolo di Mercurio*, *Vicolo del Labirinto* and *Vicolo del Fauno*.⁷³ The house was named after the dancing faun statue, which is part of the *impluvium* (“small cistern”) of the west *atrium*.⁷⁴ An Oscan inscription was found with the cognomen, *Saturninus*, which suggests that the house belonged to the noble family Satria. A ring was also discovered bearing the name Cassius, hence it is possible that a family member of the Roman Cassii married into the Oscan Satria family and resided at the House of the Faun.⁷⁵ The Oscan graffiti indicates the elite family that lived in this house used the Oscan language. A small *lararium* (“shrine to the *lares*”) to an Oscan goddess was also found in the house.⁷⁶ The House of the Faun represents the wealthier, and more conspicuous, of houses built during the second century BCE, often compared to Hellenistic palaces.⁷⁷ Even amongst those houses, the House of the Faun is extraordinary and in a class of its own, which is evident from its workmanship and quality of materials.⁷⁸

1.3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This study considers how space is influenced through human behaviour and how social interaction gives meaning to the surrounding objects. Instead of distinguishing

⁷¹ Pompeii was divided up into regions by Fiorelli in the 1860s. Each region has a Roman numeral from I-IX, and each *insula* and entrance the has its own Arabic numeral (Mau, 1899: 34). For example, the House of the Figured Capitals is in VII.4.57, in other words, region VII, *insula* 4, entrance 57.

⁷² Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 210.

⁷³ Parco Archeologico di Pompei, 2017: 1.

⁷⁴ Mau, 1899: 282.

⁷⁵ Gordon, 1927: 167.

⁷⁶ Gordon, 1927:167.

⁷⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 2009: 286.

⁷⁸ Dwyer, 2001: 328.

between the overlapping public and private spaces within the *domus*, the degree of social interaction according to room function and rituals performed within a space will be considered. In other words, the more social interaction within a space, the more public the space will be deemed to be.⁷⁹ Thus, a sliding scale of public and private determines the amount of conspicuous consumption that was displayed within a space. Theories relating to the concepts of conspicuous consumption, symbolic interactionism and axis of differentiation will be discussed in order to understand the methodologies used in this study.

1.3.1 Conspicuous Consumption

The most important concept and theory in this study is that of conspicuous consumption. While this is a modern theory,⁸⁰ it can be used for the ancient Roman

⁷⁹ The spatial syntax theory focuses on the relationship between space and culture and aims to identify how public or private spaces are identified, however this study does not aim to identify whether a space is public or private but how conspicuous consumption is displayed within these spaces (Russell, 2001: 20), and therefore this theory will not be used for this study.

⁸⁰ Studies related to the modern concept of conspicuous consumption: Belk (1985); Belk (1988) examined how possessions and the extended-self related to each other. Page (1992) looks at conspicuous consumption through history, briefly mentioning the Roman elite. Corneo & Jeanne (1997) discuss the “snob” and “bandwagon” effect under the concept of conspicuous consumption, whereas Leibenstein (1950) discussed it as three separate phenomena. Also see Eastman *et al.* (1999). Although focusing on the consumption patterns and behaviour of consumers, Hogg & Michell (1997) and Hogg *et al.* (2007) used the symbolic interactionist theory for their studies. Chao & Schor (1998) focused on status consumption of cosmetics, and showed that the concept of status consumption was connected to education and income, and is reliant on the visibility of consumed goods in order to have status, whereas O’Cass & McEwen (2004) state “that it is not clear whether or not status goods need to be consumed publicly, or... knowledge of the ownership of the good in question confers the status”, referencing Veblen’s theory and relatively rejecting it. Chevalier (2002) focuses on how individual and group identity influences the choice of interior objects, but the concepts of space and objects will be applied accordingly. O’Cass & Frost (2002) investigated status and conspicuous consumption in terms of specific brand associations and how brands are identified as status brands. Also see Heaney *et al.* (2005). Clark *et al.* (2007) investigated the psychological aspects of personal, social and market influences on consumers who are either status driven or “role-relaxed”. Eastman *et al.* (1999) compared status consumption to conspicuous consumption and materialism. Friedman & Ostrov (2008) mainly discuss pride and envy to influence the amount of conspicuous consumption and use Veblen as the basis for their discussion. Bergman (2010) looks at the motivation behind conspicuous consumption. Podoshen, Li & Zhang (2010) discuss conspicuous consumption and materialism in China. Chipp *et al.* (2011) investigated and found an increase in conspicuous consumption when affluent black South Africans had prior experiences of “relative deprivation”, in order to display their new social statuses. Linssen *et al.* (2011) investigated conspicuous consumption amongst lower classes (mainly rural India) when the “treadmill effect” came into play. Heffetz (2011) looks at the visibility of consumer purchases, basing his studies on Veblen. Souiden, M’Saad & Pons (2011) and

world, although it was not known or defined in ancient Rome. Conspicuous consumption is evident by the mere fact that *leges sumptuariae* were introduced in the Roman Republic when ostentatious expenditures increased.⁸¹ The home, modern and ancient, is a very important location for conspicuous consumption and for status consumption since it provides a family with the opportunity to display and incorporate luxurious items through the interior design of their homes. Interior décor is used in such a way as to express a person's and/or family's identity and sometimes to indicate their conception of an ideal home to outsiders,⁸² as possessions are extensions of self-hood.⁸³ As conspicuous consumption only provides status when visible to "outsiders",⁸⁴ and the Roman house was in a sense public, the house offered the perfect vehicle for the owner to display not only his private self, but his public self through conspicuous consumption.

1.3.2 Symbolic Interaction Theory

The cultural and personal identity of a person is closely linked to place identity.⁸⁵ The meaning one attaches to a place can have many dimensions, such as cultural, emotional, symbolical, and biological.⁸⁶ The symbolic function of the home has been described as being representative or an extension of the self.⁸⁷ Self-identity is closely related to the home because it serves as a symbol of how homeowners see themselves and how they want others to see them,⁸⁸ thus people exist not only in the natural environment, but in the symbolic.⁸⁹ The symbolic environment and symbolic functions of the home make the symbolic interaction theory relevant to this study. Although focusing on modern conspicuous consumption, consumption

Goldsmith & Clark (2012) looked at how conspicuous consumption influenced consumers' self-esteem.

⁸¹ Nichols, 2010: 43.

⁸² Chevalier, 2002: 848.

⁸³ Belk, 1988: 145. Also see Sadalla, Vershure & Burroughs (1987: 570).

⁸⁴ Chao & Schor, 1998: 109.

⁸⁵ Buttimer, 1980: 14.

⁸⁶ Buttimer, 1980: 15.

⁸⁷ Harris & Brown, 1996: 201.

⁸⁸ Chevalier, 2002: 848. Also see Sadalla *et al.* (1987: 570).

⁸⁹ Aksan *et al.*, 2009: 902.

patterns and behaviour of modern consumers, Hogg & Michell⁹⁰ and Hogg *et al.*⁹¹ used the symbolic interactionist theory for their studies, which supports the use of this theory for this study on ancient conspicuous consumption.

The theory of symbolic interaction focuses on the symbols and meanings that are created during social interaction.⁹² How people interact socially with others and objects around them gives meaning to objects.⁹³ The concepts of *thinking*, *meaning*, and *language* are three principles of the symbolic interaction theory. The most important interpretation of this for this study is that “symbols [meanings] form the basis of communication [language]”, in other words, “language” does not exist without meanings.⁹⁴ For people to understand a “language”, a recognised set of symbols and meanings are known to the immediate society. In this case, the language is the communication of social status through conspicuous consumption and the symbols are the interior goods, furnishings, art and so forth used within the elite houses and are recognised by the immediate society to be a display of wealth and social status. Thus, the symbols (goods, furnishing, art) form the basis of communication (conspicuous consumption). The application of this theory in this study will be discussed in the methodology section.

1.3.3 Axis of Differentiation

The need to separate social spaces is universal. Nonetheless, Romans did not divide their social spaces according to gender and age, like other societies.⁹⁵ Wallace-Hadrill explains that “[g]ender and age distinctions were of course perfectly familiar to the Romans. A standard description of a mixed crowd would be ‘*sexus, aetas, ordo omnis*’ – ‘every sex, age, and rank.’ When it came to shaping social space, the first two distinctions seem to have counted for nothing. The last, that of social rank, was

⁹⁰ Hogg & Michell, 1997: 551-558.

⁹¹ Hogg *et al.*, 2007: 148-159.

⁹² Aksan *et al.*, 2009: 902.

⁹³ Lee, 1990: 388.

⁹⁴ Aksan *et al.*, 2009: 903.

⁹⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 8.

central”.⁹⁶ In other words, the Roman *domus* did not have distinct areas just for women or just for children,⁹⁷ and private and public spaces were divided according to social rank, and this distinction determined whether the space was simply or opulently decorated.⁹⁸ According to this theory of Wallace-Hadrill, a space can be either public and grand, private and grand, or on the other hand, public and humble or private and humble (Figure 1.1). For example, the *atrium* was a “public” space where the wealthy *paterfamilias* (“family head”)⁹⁹ received his *clientes* and was thus “grand”. On the other hand, the service corridor was also public, but “humble” as servants had low social ranking.¹⁰⁰ Wallace-Hadrill’s theory of “axis of differentiation” will be adapted and incorporated with the conspicuous consumption and symbolic interaction theories for this study.

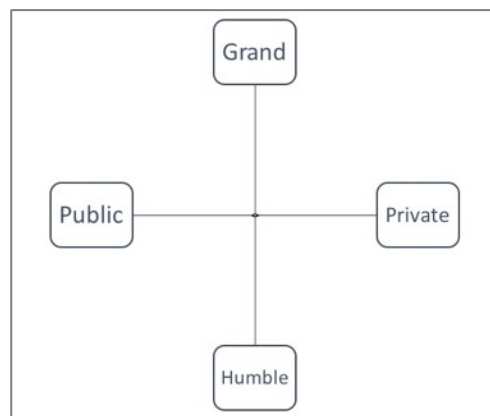


Figure 1.1 Axis of differentiation (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 11)

Grahame studied the public and private aspects of the Roman *domus*,¹⁰¹ discussing Wallace-Hadrill’s “axis of differentiation”,¹⁰² mentioning, that the problem with this

⁹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 10.

⁹⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 8.

⁹⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 11.

⁹⁹ The *paterfamilias* was the head of the family with the utmost power and could make life and death decisions over family members (Gardner, 2010: 54).

¹⁰⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 12. See Grahame (1997: 144-150) for his diagram on accessibility of spaces.

¹⁰¹ Grahame, 1997: 137-164.

¹⁰² Grahame, 1997: 138-142.

axis division is that it is only applicable to a house's main entrance, and a lot of houses had more than one entrance. Grahame investigated the division of space and the concept of privacy according to the access analysis method, in other words how many boundaries needed to be crossed to reach a specific space.¹⁰³ A space is more accessible if there are fewer boundaries to be crossed. Resident-stranger interaction was mainly determined by the number of boundaries crossed, and the more unreachable a space was to a stranger, the more private it was.

Thus, by combining the theories of conspicuous consumption, symbolic interaction and axis of differentiation, space will be looked at in terms of the amount of interaction taking place, instead of clear cut public and private spaces as Wallace-Hadrill does in his axis of differentiation or the number of boundaries to be crossed in Grahame's study. Interaction gives symbolic meaning to objects, and as discussed, the meaning in this study is conspicuous consumption, thus social interaction leads to the display of conspicuous consumption. The more interaction within a space, the more symbolic meaning is given to objects, and the more conspicuous consumption is therefore displayed.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study makes use of the source pluralism method, which is often used in cultural history research.¹⁰⁴ Source pluralism is used when there is a scarcity in evidential material and therefore requires the researcher to turn to various forms of sources.¹⁰⁵ This method is used to prove or reject a hypothesis by using numerous unrelated sources,¹⁰⁶ and when these unrelated sources correspond, it increases the reliability of data, and vice versa.¹⁰⁷ Source pluralism is different from "interdisciplinarity",

¹⁰³ Grahame, 1997: 142-144.

¹⁰⁴ Myrdal, 2008: 135.

¹⁰⁵ Myrdal, 2008: 142.

¹⁰⁶ Myrdal, 2008: 138.

¹⁰⁷ Myrdal, 2012: 157.

where several researchers from different fields join to contribute to a single objective.¹⁰⁸ Source pluralism goes hand in hand with circumstantial evidence and/or clues and traditional source criticism, which all form part of a package of methods.¹⁰⁹ When there is a lack of clear or concrete evidence for a specific aspect of a study, the researcher must often depend on multiple sources as parts of evidence for the phenomenon, which makes the evidence indirect. Using indirect evidence is then referred to as the circumstantial method.¹¹⁰ Phenomena that are difficult to research, or obscurities, as Myrdal calls it, often present little physical evidence.¹¹¹ Often one source is not enough to research an obscurity, which then obliges a researcher to make use of source pluralism.¹¹²

Therefore, the phenomenon of conspicuous consumption in Pompeii can be considered an obscurity that left little or scarce evidence, according to Myrdal's definition.¹¹³ The eruption of Vesuvius preserved only some materials from which conspicuous consumption can be deduced. The use of one source, such as archaeological remains of the House of the Faun, will not be sufficient to create a clear picture of how conspicuous consumption was applied in Pompeian houses. Thus, circumstantial evidence, such as Plautus's *Mostellaria* or Vitruvius's *De Architectura*, and clues, found in archaeological remains, are also used.

The source pluralism method for this study includes a primary literature analysis, ancient and modern scholarly works, together with field research, which allows a comparison between historical and archaeological records.

Conspicuous consumption left scarce evidence in Pompeii and was surveyed during various field visits to Pompeii for this research study. However, indirect evidence from ancient authors for example was also used to identify conspicuous

¹⁰⁸ Myrdal, 2008: 137.

¹⁰⁹ Myrdal, 2008: 142-143.

¹¹⁰ Myrdal, 2008: 143.

¹¹¹ Myrdal, 2008: 135.

¹¹² Myrdal, 2012: 155.

¹¹³ Bergman (2010: 12) also mentions that conspicuous consumption is an "obscure concept".

consumption. During field research, various houses were visited in Pompeii to identify and document conspicuous consumption and the lack thereof.¹¹⁴ Often, scarce evidence of this obscurity has been removed from Pompeii and is now available in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples (MANN). Thus, field research also included visiting the MANN to inspect original mosaics, art, and other archaeological objects, more specifically, the “Pompei e l’Europa” exhibition, the mosaic collection, the Secret Cabinet, and the glass and silverware collection. Indirect evidence of the obscurity that is used in this study includes, amongst others, Latin literary documents that are important sources of evidence for Roman housing.¹¹⁵ This study makes use of the following main primary sources that mention Roman housing: Plautus’s *Mostellaria* and *Aulularia* (Translations by Riley, 1912); Pliny the Elder’s *Historia naturalis* (Translation by Bostock, 1855); Vitruvius’s *De Architectura* (Translation by Morgan, 1960); Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* (Translation by Heinemann, 1943); and Petronius’s *Satyricon* (Translation by Heseltine, 1913).¹¹⁶

1.4.1 Equating the Woman with the House as a Method

Ancient authors, such as Plato (*Ti.* 70a-e), Vitruvius (*De arch.* 4.1.7) and Cicero,¹¹⁷ did equate the body and architectural features with one another. Private architectural structures such as the house were considered to be an extension of the owner.¹¹⁸ Similarly, the woman was seen as an extension of the *paterfamilias*, who in effect was the owner of the household. The woman was a way for the *paterfamilias* to express conspicuous consumption and in this manner display his status.¹¹⁹ Veblen explains and supports this very important phenomenon as vicarious consumption

¹¹⁴ Checklists were compiled of possible conspicuous features to look for in houses, see Addendum E for an example. I also used published floorplans of various houses to assist in the documentation process. The documentation process also included taking photographs of various houses and public spaces that would help in identifying conspicuous consumption.

¹¹⁵ Nichols, 2010: 39.

¹¹⁶ The specific primary sources mentioned were all written in Latin and I will be using the translated versions to help with this study.

¹¹⁷ According to Thomas (2007: 21), Cicero compared a town in Sicily with the shape of a woman.

¹¹⁸ Thomas, 2007: 21. Similarly Politakis (2017: 1) looks at the relation between the human body and architectural structures. See Belk (1988) for possessions representing the extended-self.

¹¹⁹ Culham (1982: 792) and D’Ambra (2000: iii).

through one's dependants, "so that consumption that enhances their extended selves enhances one's own extended self of which they are part".¹²⁰ Thus, if the house is an extension of the *paterfamilias* just as the woman is an extension of the *paterfamilias*, the house and the woman is effectively parallel in being extensions of the owner. Löw supports this notion by equating (domestic) space with women, because space has woman-like characteristics such as passivity and physical embodiment.¹²¹ Veblen also equates the woman and the house in the sense that both function as extensions of the self.¹²²

The *paterfamilias* displayed his wealth and status through the women in his household by means of conspicuous consumption. The sumptuary laws, such as the *lex Oppia*, give an indication of how conspicuous consumption was displayed. Therefore, by first identifying the various ways in which women displayed conspicuous consumption it will be easier to identify how conspicuous consumption was displayed in the house, since women and the house can be considered as parallel. The *paterfamilias* could display conspicuous consumption on similar levels through either the house or women. After identifying the ways women displayed conspicuous consumption and the similar displays within the house, the theories of conspicuous consumption, symbolic interaction and the sliding scale of interaction (axis of differentiation) will be used together as a method to determine how the level of interaction within a space determined how much conspicuous consumption was displayed (Figure 1.3).

¹²⁰ Belk, 1988: 157.

¹²¹ Löw, 2006: 126.

¹²² Veblen in Belk (1988: 157). Also see Laurence (1996: 108).

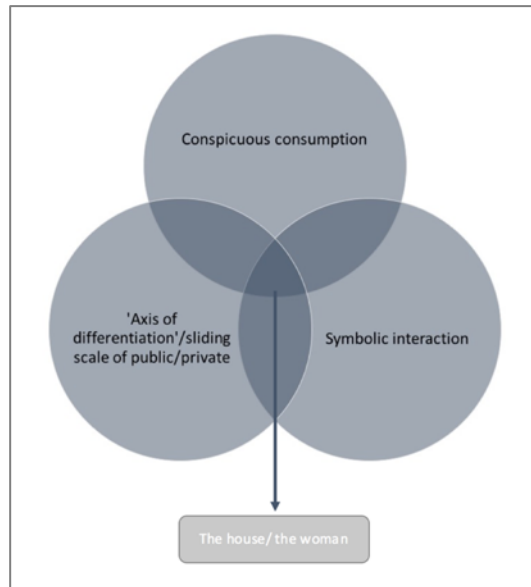


Figure 1.2: Model for this study

1.5 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED AND OVERCOME

Various challenges regarding field research and sources were encountered and had to be overcome. The House of the Faun was the main subject for research while doing field research in Pompeii. The House of the Faun is a large property with little protection from natural elements, as is the case with most houses in Pompeii, and it has decayed over the years. Very little of the wall coverings and wall paintings have survived, however early documentary works of archaeologists, such as Mau, who excavated the properties have been used and analysed to assist with reconstructing original excavation circumstances.¹²³ All of the floor mosaics and sculptures have fortunately been placed and conserved in the MANN and could be easily researched. Another obstacle was the amount of people visiting the house, which made inspection and photographic documentation difficult. This was, however, overcome with multiple visits to Pompeii, which also presented the opportunity to photograph the site in different weather conditions, illuminating different elements.

Various other houses were also visited in Pompeii to identify and document conspicuous consumption and the same obstacles were encountered and similarly

¹²³ Mau, 1899: 282-291.

overcome. Some of the sumptuous houses, like the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1), were closed for restoration purposes. Access was granted to enter the House of the Orchard to view the wall art. Various electronic and literary sources were used to obtain floorplans and visuals for houses, especially for houses that were closed at the time.¹²⁴

Another challenge was that several rooms have no remaining wall coverings (room 6, 9, 10-12, 28-41), whereas a few rooms have patches of coloured wall, but no distinct sections or blocks (rooms 3, 4, 8, 13). The coloured panels, that Mau identified as First style, are clearly visible in the *fauces*, *atrium*, *cubiculum*, the first *peristylum* (“colonnaded garden courtyard”), the *exedra* (“large room that is open on one side”), *oecus* (“reception room”) and *tablinum*. Wall coverings are in a ruinous state as they have been subjected to the elements, earthquakes and bombings (1943) since excavation, in addition to the damage from the earthquake of 63 CE and the volcanic eruption of 79 CE.¹²⁵ However, enough of the remainder of the house survived to determine conspicuous consumption.

1.6 CURRENT STATE OF DEBATE ON ROMAN DOMESTIC SPACE, WOMEN, CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION, AND THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN

Pompeii, as a Hellenised and/or Romanised town, is so often mentioned and fully discussed in historical and archaeological scholarship,¹²⁶ whether for its

¹²⁴ Not all artefacts were found or documented as they moved during the eruption, were taken by treasure hunters and/or survivors that returned to Pompeii after the eruption, and there is a general lack of archaeological documentation (Jashemski, 1993: 15). Most of the organic material has been destroyed, decayed or not documented during excavations. The *Laboratorio Ricerche Applicate* (“Applied Research Laboratory”) in the *Parco Archeologico Di Pompei* (“Archaeological Park of Pompeii”) was visited where organic remains such as marine shells and citrus seeds are preserved; however, no research could be performed at the time which would have assisted in identifying “expensive” marine shells or the presence of citrus remains on the property of the House of the Faun. This could provide insight in microbiological ways of displaying conspicuous consumption and is an avenue for further study.

¹²⁵ Clarke, 2003: 235.

¹²⁶ See Mau (1899); Connolly (1990); Monnier (2007); Foss & Dobbins (2009); Cooley & Cooley (2014) on overall discussion of Pompeii. See Poehler, Flohr & Cole (2011) on infrastructure and industry in

extraordinary preservation circumstances,¹²⁷ laws, political and economic situation,¹²⁸ or architecture.¹²⁹ More specialised fields of interest in Pompeii include art,¹³⁰ gardens,¹³¹ water supply,¹³² and town planning.¹³³ This study, however, focuses on conspicuous consumption in one particular house in Pompeii, the House of the Faun. The concepts and methods in this study are from different subject fields, with focus on ancient and/or modern topics, such as art, law, economics, consumer

Pompeii. For pre-Roman and Hellenistic Pompeii see Fulford *et al.* (1999: 37-144); Lomas (2004: 199-224); Gates (2011: 309-327, 356-366); Cooley & Cooley (2014: 7-24). Wallace-Hadrill (2009: 286-287) discussed the Hellenisation and Romanisation of the Pompeian house. Also see Spaeth (1998: 503-512); Hartnett (2008: 91-119); Richardson (1977: 394-402); Hagel (2008: 52-71); Carroll (2010: 63-106).

¹²⁷ See Smiles & Moser (2005: *passim*); Stern & Thimme (2007: *passim*); and Grant, Gorin & Fleming (2008: *passim*) on Pompeii's archaeological significance. Also see Sigurdsson, Cashdollar & Sparks (1982: 39-51).

¹²⁸ See Roselaar (2010: 46-48) on the social and economic history of public land laws in the Republic. See Hammer (2015: *passim*) on the political and economic situation during the Republic using Pompeii as examples. Also see Bannon (2009: *passim*) on water rights and gardens in Pompeii.

¹²⁹ For domestic architecture in Pompeii, see Laurence & Wallace-Hadrill (1997); Allison (1998: 18-21); Métraux (1999: *passim*); George (2004: 7-25); Balch (2004: 27-46); Sear (2006: 163-201); Cova (2013: 373-391); Clarke (2014: *passim*); Ulrich (2014: *passim*); Quenemoen (2014: *passim*). For public architecture in Pompeii, see Dobbins (1994: 629-694); Nielsen (2014: *passim*); Anderson (2014: *passim*); Frakes (2014: *passim*); Dodge (2014: *passim*); Yegül (2014: *passim*). Tuck (2015: *passim*) mentions Pompeian architecture throughout the Republic and Empire; Thomas (2007: *passim*) focused on architecture in the Empire, mentioning Pompeii. For materials used in Pompeian buildings see Lancaster & Ulrich (2014: *passim*). For collective work on Roman architecture see Ulrich & Quenemoen (2014: *passim*). On Etruscan and early Roman architecture, see Boëthius (1978: *passim*). For a broad overview of Roman architecture mentioning Pompeii, see Brown (1958: *passim*) and Boëthius (1934: *passim*). Perring (2002: *passim*) discussed the *domus* in Britain using examples found in Pompeii.

¹³⁰ For art in Pompeii, see Mau (1899: 446-474); Van Buren (1924: 112-122); Richardson (1955); Sear (1975: 83-97); Barringer (1994: 149-166); Zanker (1998: 184-192); Westgate (2000: 255-275); Trimble (2002: 225-248); Merola (2006: 36-40); Hales (2007: 335-341); Strocka (2009: 302-322); Clarke (2009: 323-335); Fant (2009: 336-346); Powers (2011: 10-32); De Angelis (2011: 62-73); Tronchin (2011: 33-49); Cool (2016: 157-177). For Roman art mentioning Pompeii: Strong (1976: *passim*); Ling (1991: *passim*); Henig (1995: *passim*); Hodge (1998: *passim*); Dunbabin (1999: *passim*); Clarke (2003: *passim*); Dunbabin (2003: *passim*); Stewart (2003: *passim*); Thompson *et al.* (2007: *passim*); Uzzi (2007: *passim*); Gazda (2010: *passim*); Tuck (2015: *passim*). On the subject of art and the theatre, see Taplin (1997: 69-92); Storey & Allan (2005: *passim*); McDonald & Walton (2007: *passim*); Harrison & Liapis (2013: *passim*). Pollock (2006: *passim*) mentions Pompeii in her discussion of art and psychoanalysis. Clarke *et al.* (2005) discussed pigment problems in Pompeii. Also see Mazzocchin *et al.* (2006: 377-387).

¹³¹ For example, Harshberger (1909: 575-576); Jashemski (1963: 112-121); Jashemski (1970: 97-115); Ciarallo & Lippi (1993: 110-116); Nwokobia (2004: 56-61); Thompson (2004: 78-81); Jashemski (2009: 487-498).

¹³² For example, Jones & Robinson (2005: 695-710); Jansen (2009: 257-268); Keenan-Jones, Hellstrom & Drysdale (2011: 131-148); Bruun (2012: 145-157).

¹³³ For public space and town planning in Pompeii see, Laurence (1996); Anter & Weilguni (2002: 87-97); Geertman (2009: 82-97); Kaiser (2011: 115-130); Laurence (2014: 399-411).

science, ancient zoology and botany,¹³⁴ and so forth. The main concepts and the questions asked by the main scholars used in this study, will be discussed to get a better understanding of the current state of debate, and how it differs from this study.

The scholar whose work touches most closely on this study is Wallace-Hadrill.¹³⁵ He is the only scholar to include a discussion of the domestic space, Roman women, conspicuous consumption, and the House of the Faun in a single work. However, he has not taken the next step, which is to draw the links between these elements which will help identify the conspicuous consumption displayed in the House of the Faun by looking at the conspicuous consumption displayed by women.

Wallace-Hadrill made a broad study of houses in Pompeii with the aim of investigating how luxury diffused amongst the elite, and how houses documented Roman social life.¹³⁶ First he focused on how the language of status and *luxuria* (“luxury”) should be read in the *domus*.¹³⁷ He mentioned that the *domus* documented the concept of conspicuous consumption as set out by Veblen, although not explaining the concept. Instead of using the concept of conspicuous consumption, he used terms such as “luxury”, “ostentatious” and “status symbols”. His study tries “to understand the social patterns that dictated the structure and decoration of the Roman house in the later Republic and early Empire”.¹³⁸ He argued that these social patterns were determined by the private and public dimensions of the Roman upper-class lifestyle, and consequently the public life influenced the structure of the domestic life. Wallace-Hadrill based his research on the theory of

¹³⁴ Moser *et al.* (2012: 387-408) and Murphy, Thompson & Fuller (2013: 409-419).

¹³⁵ His works of 1988 and 1990 are combined in his book of 1994. Other works of Wallace-Hadrill include Laurence & Wallace-Hadrill (1997) on domestic spaces in the Roman world. Fulford & Wallace-Hadrill (1998) identify earlier occupation dates with stratigraphic excavations in Pompeii; similarly, Fulford *et al.* (1999) identified earlier occupation dates with stratigraphic excavations in the House of Amarantus, Pompeii. Lastly, Wallace-Hadrill (2009: 279-291) on the Campanian house.

¹³⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: xv, 5.

¹³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 3.

¹³⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 60.

“axis of differentiation”,¹³⁹ after which he looked at the concept of public and private spaces in the Roman house.¹⁴⁰

Wallace-Hadrill conducted research on three sample areas in Pompeii that included 234 houses. These sample areas were divided into four types according to extravagance of décor, architecture and function.¹⁴¹ He devoted a chapter to luxury and status in the *domus*,¹⁴² where he focused on the concept of luxury, not conspicuous consumption. However, his definition of luxury is very similar to the definition of conspicuous consumption used in this thesis.¹⁴³ He discussed decoration as a status symbol and a luxury across the sample of houses, however mainly wall art with mythological themes.¹⁴⁴ Finally, he stated that “decoration represents more than display of wealth. Together with architecture it is a method of fashioning space adequately for the social activity it is expected to contain, and specifically for the reception of visitors, and hence a way of displaying, or laying claim to, social rank”.¹⁴⁵ In other words, it is a form of conspicuous consumption.

Wallace-Hadrill focused on the diffusion of luxury in Pompeian houses with emphasis on wall art and the size of spaces within the house. He looked at the concept of public and private spaces, however making use of the “axis of differentiation”. He mainly compared houses across different status groups, identifying diffusion of luxury and not how conspicuous consumption was displayed amongst the wealthy. He did not focus on which rooms within houses displayed more conspicuous consumption

¹³⁹ The axis of differentiation was discussed under section 1.3.3 Theoretical background.

¹⁴⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 3-16.

¹⁴¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 71-90. A single region could possess houses of various sizes, layout, amount of rooms, extravagance of décor and functionality. Type 1 included workshops or shops with at least one room. Type 2 had an irregular floorplan, with 2-7 rooms and often included shops. Type 3 is the “typical” Pompeian house, with a symmetrical floor plan, 28% have an atrium and a colonnaded garden and an average of eight rooms. Of these four types, Type 4 includes the elitist, most luxurious houses, not necessarily all of equal standing.

¹⁴² Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 143-174.

¹⁴³ “As a social process, luxury functions as the attempt to mark or assert a place within a network of social relationships by the display or consumption of material goods; in this process, the goods are valued in proportion to their relative inaccessibility outside the social circle that is employing them” (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 145).

¹⁴⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 147.

¹⁴⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 173.

according to how many people were present in those spaces. He did not particularly examine factors such as mosaics, gardens, furniture, women and conspicuous consumption, amongst others. It is necessary to include these elements, as without them vital evidence is lacking when coming to fully understand conspicuous consumption within the *domus*.

1.6.1 Domestic Space, the *Domus*, the Roman House

Closely related to Wallace-Hadrill's study is Grahame's study on public and private space within the *domus*. Grahame studied the history of the concept of private life in order to analyse the concepts of public and private spaces within the *domus*.¹⁴⁶ As Grahame mentioned, many houses, like the House of the Faun, had multiple entrances and therefore the "axis of differentiation" theory of Wallace-Hadrill does not apply as it is only applicable when a house has one main entrance. He also mentioned that decoration functioned as a division of public and private spaces in the house. However, this alone cannot be used as a division of spaces.¹⁴⁷ Grahame applied the access analysis method to the House of the Faun.¹⁴⁸ Several domains were created with various opportunities for interaction. Public and private spaces varied for residents of the house according to the possibility of interaction. Similarly, resident-stranger interaction was mainly determined by the number of boundaries crossed, and the more unreachable a space was to a stranger, the more private it was. Thus, the House of the Faun "allowed subtle contours of relative privacy, along both the inhabitant-inhabitant and inhabitant-stranger dimensions". This study, however, determines how much conspicuous consumption is displayed within a space according to the level of social interaction, regardless of accessibility.

Ilgin investigated the architectural components of form and space in Roman housing.¹⁴⁹ Important spaces within the *domus* were examined in terms of concepts like "point, line, plane and volume" and how Romans organised their domestic lives

¹⁴⁶ Grahame, 1997: 138-142.

¹⁴⁷ Grahame, 1997: 142-144.

¹⁴⁸ Grahame, 1997: 151-153.

¹⁴⁹ Ilgin, 2008: 7-30.

around these spaces. Ilgin also placed focus on:

[t]he disposition, design and organization of domestic spaces and their form-giving and space-articulating applications are thus examined also in reference to the social status, power and wealth of the home owner as well as how these spaces accommodated the assigned activity efficiently. The Roman atrium house therefore is discussed with reference to its architectural and household organizations in order to analyse its form-giving and space-articulating design elements.¹⁵⁰

The *domus* and its rooms were analysed in architectural terms,¹⁵¹ after which Ilgin discussed the *domus* in terms of “form”, “space” and social status placing focus on the *atrium*, *peristylum* and *triclinium*. Visual and functional architecture features are often discussed. Ilgin also mentioned that fountains, pools and private water supply were status indicators, and briefly mentioned gardens, sculptures and movable furniture.¹⁵² The analyses of “form” and “space” were subsequently applied to four specific houses in Pompeii, not including the House of the Faun.¹⁵³ Ilgin concluded that “...the spatial designs executed in the Roman houses are not only done to accommodate the assigned activity efficiently; they also contributed significantly to the way the house owners displayed their social status, power and wealth not only in terms of the material wealth of decoration but also in the architectural and spatial wealth of their private setting.”¹⁵⁴ Even though Ilgin looked at the display of status in Pompeian houses, focus was placed only on three rooms and was analysed from a purely architectural and structural perspective. Whereas this study includes architectural features together with other decorative and functional aspects to create an all-inclusive understanding of conspicuous consumption in the Roman *domus*.

Métraux examined Roman and Greek houses, making mention of scholars like Wallace-Hadrill, Jashemski, Clarke and Zanker.¹⁵⁵ Important aspects like social

¹⁵⁰ Ilgin, 2008: 4.

¹⁵¹ Ilgin, 2008: 31-46.

¹⁵² Ilgin, 2008: 47-86.

¹⁵³ Ilgin, 2008: 87-118.

¹⁵⁴ Ilgin, 2008: 212.

¹⁵⁵ Métraux, 1999: 392-405.

functions of spaces, gardens, art, furniture, sculptures and mosaics are discussed somewhat briefly.¹⁵⁶ Métraux mentioned very important aspects and scholars in the study of Roman housing, however he made a very broad discussion of Roman and Greek houses almost to the extent of claiming they were identical.¹⁵⁷ Most of his discussion revolves around villas found in Rome during the early Empire. He did not discuss the mentioned aspects separately for Roman and Greek houses, nor look at them individually in specific houses.

McIntosh re-examined the Roman *domus* in terms of architecture and language focusing on the literary evidence of Vitruvius and Cicero.¹⁵⁸ She looked at the literary evidence of Cicero's extravagant *domus* on the Palatine, considering the physical and philosophical aspects of the house. She focused on the abstract and subjective approaches to the *domus* and coming to understand the importance of the symbolic home.¹⁵⁹

Ellis examined the Roman house from its beginning throughout to the Empire. He also considered variation across the territories conquered by Rome, such as Britain and Africa. However, having a very broad but inclusive study on Roman housing, furniture and decoration, he lacked the depth and detail needed to truly understand the *domus* which leads to the understanding of conspicuous consumption in the *domus*, which this research study provides.¹⁶⁰

1.6.2 Status Display, Conspicuous Consumption and Luxury in Ancient Rome

As in this dissertation, Nichols looked at the “under-researched aspect of Roman cultural history... expenditure on private architecture in the second century BCE”.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Métraux, 1999: 396-397.

¹⁵⁷ Métraux, 1999: 400.

¹⁵⁸ McIntosh, 2003: 30-70.

¹⁵⁹ McIntosh, 2003: 71-196.

¹⁶⁰ Ellis, 2002. Other studies related to the Roman house include, the engendering of domestic activities which is discussed by Allison (2007: 343-350); cults practiced in the *domus*, discussed by Lipka (2006: 327-358) and Robinson (2002: 93-100). For domestic life in the *domus*, see Berry (1997b: 103-125) and Allison (2009: 269-278). For artefacts in the household context, see Berry (1997a: 183-195). See Wallace-Hadrill (2009: 279-291) on the Campanian house. On other houses in Pompeii, see Nappo (2009: 347-372) and Peterse (2009: 373-388).

¹⁶¹ Nichols, 2010: 39.

However, he focused on the moral discourse of second century literature. Nichols mentioned that due to the limited archaeological remains of second century houses, scholars tend to generalise findings of elite houses of this period. Thus, he turned to literary evidence such as Plautus's *Mostellaria*, which was written during the height of the implementation of the sumptuary laws. Laws such as the *lex Orchia* and *lex Oppia* were considered as evidence for extravagant behaviour, but Nichols also observed that sumptuary laws were never aimed at houses. Thus, luxurious houses were in fact a recognised problem during the second century BCE, despite there being no sumptuary laws targeting them.¹⁶²

Nichols briefly mentioned aspects such as the First Style, decoration of domestic spaces, and expensive materials including ivory and citrus wood.¹⁶³ Expensive colours were mentioned by quoting Vitruvius, however none of these topics were discussed in detail. Nichols mentioned various literary sources demonstrating how luxury indeed became a problem and was highly critiqued by ancient moralists. For example, he analysed the *Mostellaria* in terms of luxurious Hellenistic houses and specifically labelled it "conspicuously Hellenizing and exotic".¹⁶⁴

Lastly, Nichols made a comparison between cosmetic and domestic ornamentation in *Mostellaria*, mentioning how architecture and human bodies have often been compared. This comparison was used to indicate how extravagant decoration of the house was similar to a courtesan adorning herself with cosmetics. Thus, both were considered unnecessary sumptuous expenses and went against upright Roman moral values.¹⁶⁵

Nichols used literary evidence to demonstrate that conspicuous behaviour led to the creation of sumptuary laws. Although not using the term conspicuous consumption, Nichols used terms such as "luxury", "sumptuousness", and "conspicuously" when

¹⁶² Nichols, 2010: 39-61.

¹⁶³ Nichols, 2010: 45.

¹⁶⁴ Nichols, 2010: 48-52.

¹⁶⁵ Nichols, 2010: 52-56.

referring to various spending behaviours concerning the house. These behaviours were in fact conspicuous consumption.

Status display and conspicuous consumption related to banquets and food purchases were thoroughly studied by Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka. The luxury connected to banquets were discussed and which sumptuary laws were put in place to curb this extravagant behaviour. However, they only included food laws in their definition of sumptuary laws, whereas this study has a broader inclusion of sumptuary laws.¹⁶⁶

Other scholars have not discussed the concept of conspicuous consumption during the Republic in great detail or as their main focus. Focus is often placed on another concept, with conspicuous consumption or luxury being secondary concepts. Jones and Robinson mainly focused on the water supply in Pompeii and the House of the Vestals, after which they mentioned the status aspect of water.¹⁶⁷ Reinhold examined the status of Roman family names and military positions held during the Empire.¹⁶⁸ In his book on Roman art, Clarke devoted a chapter to the status related to banquets. He discussed the seating arrangements, Hellenistic aspects, and art found in banqueting areas of a few houses, however not mentioning the House of the Faun.¹⁶⁹ Dillon & Garland had a short section discussing conspicuous consumption in Rome. They referenced several ancient authors that spoke about luxury in Rome, however briefly.¹⁷⁰

1.6.3 Roman Women and Sumptuary Laws

Conspicuous consumption amongst women during the Republic led to creation of laws such as the *lex Oppia*. Culham examined the *lex Oppia* in detail, making reference to Livy as the main source.¹⁷¹ Culham placed focus on the competitive display of religious items of women. Although he did not use the word conspicuous

¹⁶⁶ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 1-26.

¹⁶⁷ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 695-710.

¹⁶⁸ Reinhold, 1971: 275-302.

¹⁶⁹ Clarke, 2003: 223-245.

¹⁷⁰ Dillon & Garland, 2015: 59-62.

¹⁷¹ Culham, 1982: 786-793.

consumption, he did imply it.¹⁷² Laws such as the *lex Voconia*, *lex Furia*, *lex Orchia*, and *lex Fannia* were mentioned, and revealed that more laws were aimed at women after the *lex Oppia*. Culham argued that the *lex Oppia* was not a war measure, but that the increased wealth and need for status caused various behaviours to be limited by instating sumptuary laws.¹⁷³ Culham mainly focused on why the law was instated and repealed. This study however looks at what the law was limiting and how that pointed to how women displayed conspicuous consumption.

Grubbs made a complete study of Roman women and law but during the Empire, which does not include sumptuary laws like the *lex Oppia*.¹⁷⁴ Brittain focused on Roman women, however, only briefly making mention of the *lex Oppia*.¹⁷⁵ MacLachlan studied Roman women through the Republic and Empire. She briefly discussed the *lex Oppia*, mainly discussing Livy's account of the women gathering for the repeal of the law.¹⁷⁶ Clark mentioned the *lex Oppia* briefly in her study of the daily life of Roman women.¹⁷⁷

1.6.4 The House of the Faun

The main focus of this study is on the different ways conspicuous consumption was displayed in the House of the Faun. Although this house is well known for its extravagant size, impressive First Style frescoes and for the famous Alexander mosaic, scholars often only mention the house when discussing these topics.¹⁷⁸ Very

¹⁷² Culham, 1982: 791-793.

¹⁷³ Culham, 1982: 793.

¹⁷⁴ Grubbs, 2002: 16-270.

¹⁷⁵ Brittain, 2010: 34-35.

¹⁷⁶ MacLachlan, 2013: 58-63.

¹⁷⁷ Clark 1981: 206-207. For studies on Roman women, see Ward (1992: 125-147); L'Hoir (1994: 5-25); Konstan (2002: 1-22); Lightman & Lightman (2008).

¹⁷⁸ See Gordon (1927: 167); Clarke (1991: 41, 79, 90); Wallace-Hadrill (1994: *passim*); Laurence (1996: 57, 100); Painter (2001: 2, 41, 61); Bodson (2002: *passim*); Jashemski, Meyer, & Ricciardi (2002: *passim*); King (2002: *passim*); Reese (2002: *passim*); Watson (2002: *passim*); Clarke (2003: 247, 250, 264); Arnott (2007: *passim*) who make mention of the birds in several of the mosaics found in the House of the Faun; Monnier (2007: 100, 113); Descoëudres (2009: 12); Adam (2009: 99, 112); Wallace-Hadrill (2009: 280-1, 285-9); Strocka (2009: 306-7); Clarke (2009: 325); Fant (2009: *passim*); Tybout (2009: 410); Moormann (2009: 445); Laidlaw (2009: 624, 628); Boschetti (2011: 62, 72-4); Kitchell (2014: *passim*) who make mention of a few animals in some of the mosaics found in the House of the Faun; Cooley & Cooley (2014: *passim*); Tuck (2015: *passim*).

few scholars write solely about the House of the Faun, focusing on only a specific feature of the house. Hoffmann & Faber did an in-depth study of the building history and building phases of the house.¹⁷⁹ Dwyer looked at the dimensions of the floorplan.¹⁸⁰ Dobbins & Gruber created a 3D model of the house to determine ancient lighting conditions.¹⁸¹ This presented an opportunity to create a holistic detailed study on the ways in which conspicuous consumption was displayed in the House of the Faun, which has not been done before.

Writing mainly on public and private life in Pompeii, Zanker mentioned the House of the Faun multiple times.¹⁸² He briefly discussed the size and the floorplan of the house under Hellenised “palaces” in Pompeii.¹⁸³ He also mentioned how the owners of the house used Greek images of luxury as status symbols in the house. Examples are the tragic masks mosaic and the Alexander mosaic, which he discussed in more detail.¹⁸⁴ Zanker studied the domestic arts of wealthy residences in Pompeii,

¹⁷⁹ Hoffmann & Faber (2009: 19-242). The book is written in two parts, with the first part done by Hoffmann and the second by Faber. Hoffmann concentrated mainly on the different building phases and excavations done of each room (Hoffmann, 2009: 19-54), whereas Faber discussed the dating of phases and archaeological finds below the 79 CE level (Faber, 2009: 55-115). This book is useful in the sense of providing an outline of structural archaeological aspects and small finds, like pot shards. A complete catalogue of finds and drawings of pots takes up half of the book (Hoffmann & Faber, 2009: 116-241). Hoffmann argued the house was built in three phases, however he does not provide explanations for these phases. Similar to Mau’s Four Styles, this is a very simplistic and rigid division of phases that included many restorations and modifications over the years. See also reviews on Hoffmann & Faber; Flohr (2010: 1165-1171), and George (2011).

¹⁸⁰ Dwyer, 2001: 328-343. The measurements and proportions of houses in Pompeii are often difficult to determine. Dwyer discussed the phases of the House of the Faun according to various methods in determining dimensions of houses.

¹⁸¹ Dobbins & Gruber, 2010: 1-8. A 3D computer model of the House of the Faun was created by Dobbins & Gruber in order to recreate the lighting conditions for the Alexander mosaic. The computer model indicated that the *peristylum* columns and portico in front of the exedra prevented sufficient light from entering the room. However, site visits showed modification made to the columns in front of the exedra and part of the portico. They discussed the changes made to the house according to Hoffmann & Faber (2009) and concluded that the installation of the mosaic led to other significant modifications in and around the exedra, which possibly coincided with Pompeii coming under Roman rule.

¹⁸² Zanker, 1998: 34, 35, 37, 39, 40.

¹⁸³ Zanker, 1998: 34-36, 142, 197. He discussed the Hellenisation and Romanisation of Pompeii in the first part of his book (Zanker, 1998: 37, 27-134).

¹⁸⁴ Zanker, 1998: 37, 39-41.

including elements such as architectural features, some water features, gardens, and sculptures.¹⁸⁵

Westgate discussed the differences and similarities between Greek mosaics and Hellenistic Pompeian mosaics, using the mosaics of the House of the Faun as examples of the extravagant techniques used to make these mosaics.¹⁸⁶ Although providing insight on the techniques used, the sumptuous materials, and the Greek parallels, she did not discuss the themes of these mosaics, which could also indicate conspicuous consumption.

Wallace-Hadrill provided the basis for this study in terms of luxury and decoration while considering the social patterns of the public and private areas of the house. He tended to look at luxury as a positive social aspect, explaining that a degree of luxury was necessary to match a person's social standing. Nichols, on the other hand, indicated luxury was limited by the sumptuary laws, implying luxury was a problem. Some forms of luxury were mentioned with reference to ancient literary sources. Also introducing the *lex Oppia* and making a comparison between decoration and female (courtesan) adornment, explaining both were seen as unnecessary expenditures. This led to the discussion on the *lex Oppia* by Culham, which also indicated that extravagant spending and status, not only by women, were limited by the sumptuary laws and showed that conspicuous consumption was indeed present and problematic.

1.7 CONCLUSION

It is clear from the overview of secondary scholarship that conspicuous consumption of the women, of the Roman house and the House of the Faun has not yet been brought together to create an in-depth, holistic study to increase our knowledge of

¹⁸⁵ Zanker, 1998: 37, 135-203.

¹⁸⁶ Westgate, 2000a: 262-273.

how conspicuous consumption functioned within the *domus*. Thus, necessary and important research possibilities are created.

This study will use both literary and archaeological evidence to identify conspicuous consumption in the ancient Roman domestic space. It will also build on the few luxurious aspects Wallace-Hadrill and Nichols mention, creating a more complete study of conspicuous consumption in the house. Conspicuous consumption was present there, but without sumptuary laws aimed at houses, not as easily identified. Therefore, the analogy of women and the house being equal will be used to identify conspicuous consumption within the house.

2 SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Before beginning this study, it is necessary to understand the social, economic and political context of Republican Rome and Pompeii. Important aspects such as political and economic developments, warfare and religion influenced not only daily life but conspicuous consumption.¹ A brief background on the Roman Republic will provide a better understanding of aspects that influenced this phenomenon as it did not occur independently. The origins of Pompeii and its development are discussed to indicate why conspicuous consumption played such a role in this town. Religion and the arrival of Roman culture in Pompeii played an important part in daily life and thus influenced imagery found in houses and also ultimately played a part in conspicuous consumption. Due to this, sumptuary laws were instated, and people therefore found alternative ways to display status. All these concepts are connected and have to be clarified before the phenomenon of conspicuous consumption within the house can be understood.

2.2 BACKGROUND ON THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The political and economic welfare of a country is important and has a ripple effect into the rest of society. Roman society underwent multiple changes during the Republic, and more so with the Empire. Important social changes were taking place,

¹ Very little historical records survived from the early Republic and thus not much is known about this period (Dillon & Garland, 2015: 38). The economic history of Rome was hardly discussed in ancient sources, and when it was discussed, by Livy for example, a long period of time had passed from the actual event to the documentation. It is therefore possibly inaccurate and should be interpreted with caution (Aubert, 2004: 161). Other than ancient authors, several inscriptions, Greek and Latin, have however been found that provide some insight into the economic state of the Republic (Aubert, 2004: 162).

such as a sudden increase in wealth just before sumptuary laws were instated, the increase in Hellenistic influences on architecture, art and lifestyle, and the influence of religion on imagery in art.

The Roman Republic spanned from 509 to 31 BCE.² As the Republic covered so many time periods and countries, it is difficult to refer to a single economy or political state.³ Roman culture was forever changing and divided, and thus cannot be identified as one singular “process” for the entire period of its existence. Culture also functioned differently for each social group within Roman society.⁴ Economic and social changes of great significance took place during the Republic,⁵ when Rome integrated indigenous communities with Roman culture by expanding their territories across Italy and the Mediterranean.⁶ The effects of colonisation were the establishing of city-states, stimulated urbanisation and improved agriculture.⁷ The expansion of Roman cities throughout Italy and the Mediterranean made the wealthy even richer; causing an irregular distribution of demographic characteristics.⁸ It also caused municipal institutions to develop, which means that Roman expansion encouraged urbanisation. Due to this expansion, different means of traveling such as roads, harbours and rivers were improved and extended, which led to the growth of long-distance imports and exports.⁹ Regional communities within Roman Italy kept their own unique cultural practices while coinciding with a dominant Roman power. Each community also actively partook in choosing which Roman aspects they wanted to accept or reject while combining it with their own local culture.¹⁰

² Fronda, 2015: 44.

³ Aubert, 2004: 160.

⁴ Lomas, 2004: 199.

⁵ Aubert, 2004: 160.

⁶ *Romanitas* or the “Romanness” of a person was more important than actual citizenship. Also, there are various approaches and definitions to what a Roman citizen was (Gardner, 2010: 1), as they could be from various regions and ethnicities (Laurence, 2003: 95). Gardner (2010) discusses the private laws of Roman citizens, in particular the different legal capacity of groups such as women, disabled, disgraced and freed men.

⁷ Pelgrom, 2008: 334.

⁸ Lintott, 1972: 626.

⁹ Aubert, 2004: 160.

¹⁰ Lomas, 2004: 199.

Rome expanded its territory through various wars, and the most significant wars included the three Samnite wars and three Punic wars. Northern parts of Campania were taken during the first Samnite war (343-341 BCE). The remaining parts of Campania, Lucania, and Apulia were gained during the second war (326-321, 316-304 BCE). The last war took place between 298 and 290 BCE and by 272 BCE, Rome was in control of all of Italy.¹¹ With the First Punic War (264-241 BCE) Rome started expanding their overseas territories, which was a pivotal moment in Roman history.¹² During the second Punic War (218-201 BCE) Italy was invaded by Hannibal, but he was eventually defeated by Rome.¹³ The period after this war brought further changes to Rome and Italy, such as new cultural inspirations and an increase of money coming into Italy.¹⁴ Post-war trading ventures, booty, and an increase in the number of slaves, provided wealthy Romans with the opportunity to purchase sizeable properties and make use of cheap slave labour to run the estates.¹⁵

Despite the overall change in Italy, small communities each still had a unique identity and intricate social structure. Some of these communities were often ruled by a handful of wealthy families, being as prominent and powerful in their own district as the senatorial families in Rome.¹⁶ Not only did communities compete with each other, but the patricians within each community competed against each other through various ways of displaying their social status and wealth.¹⁷ With the newly increased wealth during the late second century BCE, the wealthy began investing significant amounts of money in conspicuous houses and public endeavours.¹⁸

In addition, the expansion of Rome brought many customs, laws, styles of government, architecture and even religion to different regions in Italy, nevertheless,

¹¹ Dillon & Garland, 2015: 41.

¹² Dillon & Garland, 2015: 154.

¹³ Dillon & Garland, 2015: 156-157.

¹⁴ Lomas, 2004: 206.

¹⁵ Lomas, 2004: 216. Also see Cornell (2000: 46).

¹⁶ Tatum, 2015: 258. The women of a senatorial family held the title of *clarissima femina* ("most splendid woman") and men *clarissimus* ("most splendid") (Grubbs, 2002: 72).

¹⁷ Lomas, 2004: 212.

¹⁸ Lomas, 2004: 213.

this did not imply a loss of local culture and traditions.¹⁹ The greatest cultural influences came from the eastern Mediterranean, which “prompted an interest in Greek culture”,²⁰ which is clearly visible in Pompeii. Pompeii not only erected several public buildings that were in the Greek fashion, but houses were modified to suit the new Hellenistic lifestyle in Pompeii.²¹

2.3 POMPEII

Pompeii only became a Roman colony in 80 BCE but had been under Roman rule since the fourth century BCE. The earliest known inhabitants of Pompeii were Etruscans and Oscans, around the sixth century BCE.²² By 79 CE, when Vesuvius erupted, there was an estimated 11 000 people living in Pompeii. The coast was closer to Pompeii than it is presently, and Vesuvius was about eight kilometres away from the city.²³ Pompeii was an important city in Campania, southwest Italy, as it was located on the crossroads between neighbouring cities Nola, Stabiae, and Cumae.²⁴ The town of Pompeii was not built according to a plan. It systematically expanded over time, which is why each region was dated to a different time period.²⁵

With the creation of Magna Graecia, Italy received many Greek traditions, religious cults, even Greek dialects.²⁶ A new Greek civilization grew from this and came in contact with native Italics during later time periods.²⁷ Some of these Greek cities like

¹⁹ Rupke, 2004: 187. See Millar (2002: 215-237) on the late Republic and its relations with the Mediterranean in terms of politics, economics and war.

²⁰ Lomas, 2004: 222. Rome’s first encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean was in 215 BCE when Hannibal formed an alliance with Macedon (Dillon & Garland, 2015: 205).

²¹ Lomas, 2004: 213.

²² Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 7.

²³ Descœudres, 2009: 12. For an explanation on exactly how and when Vesuvius erupted, see Sigurdsson *et al.* (1982: 39-51).

²⁴ Guzzo, 2009: 3.

²⁵ Laurence, 1996: 14. Also see Anter & Weilguni (2002) and Westfall (2009: 129-139). See Laurence (1996: 34-45) on neighbourhoods in Pompeii.

²⁶ Bernstein, 1996: 101. The topic of Magna Graecia and other Greek civilisations is too vast to include in this study and is thus only mentioned in the simplest of terms.

²⁷ Gates, 2011: 208.

Naples grew rich and powerful but were absorbed into the Roman Republic after the Pyrrhic War.²⁸ Pompeii was seized by the Etruscans before being taken by the Greek colony of Cumae between 525 and 474 BCE. The Samnites conquered Pompeii later in the fifth century BCE and during the fourth century Samnite wars they were defeated by Rome, however they were not a Roman colony yet.²⁹ Pompeii remained faithful to Rome until Campanian towns rose up against Rome. Sulla besieged Pompeii in 89 BCE and in 80 BCE Pompeii became a Roman colony.³⁰ According to Pliny (*HN* 3.60-62) inhabitants of Pompeii included “Oscan, Greek, Umbrian, Etruscan, and Campanian”. By the late second century BCE, Pompeii was transformed into an urban centre with Hellenistic style *palaestrae*, public baths, and a theatre.³¹ Regardless of its riches and loyalty to Rome, Pompeii had limited political rights until it became a Roman colony.³²

2.3.1 Hellenistic Pompeii

Of all the cultures Rome came into contact with, the Hellenistic world left the biggest impression. This was a culture much older and more advanced than the Romans’ own culture, and from coming into contact with the Hellenistic peoples the Romans altered their own customs.³³ The Romans still had their own deep-rooted sense of superiority and thus only accepted the Hellenistic way up to a certain point.³⁴ Over time, Rome’s partnership with Greece developed to such an extent that they engaged in trade and even fought on the same side.³⁵ Romans adopted, admired and valued the Hellenistic way of life, which is clearly demonstrated in domestic settings such as the House of the Faun.³⁶ Architecture and art were often based on Greek public religious architecture, Hellenistic palaces and famous artworks.³⁷ Luxuries

²⁸ Fronda, 2015: 59.

²⁹ Descœudres, 2009: 15.

³⁰ Descœudres, 2009: 16.

³¹ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 8. For daily economic life in Pompeii, see Frank (1918: 225-240).

³² Descœudres, 2009: 15.

³³ Billows, 2007: 318.

³⁴ Billows, 2007: 319.

³⁵ Lendon, 2007: 508.

³⁶ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 8. Also see Wallace-Hadrill (2009: 286).

³⁷ Hales, 2003: 208.

such as *peristylia*, floor mosaic *emblemata* (“mosaic panel”), and statues in bronze and marble were adopted in Pompeii.³⁸ Another important luxury Pompeians adopted was the Greek banquet. This showed status and was a pleasure only the wealthy could afford; this Hellenistic *luxuria* lifestyle was often depicted with Dionysus imagery.³⁹ Dionysus was central to Hellenistic Pompeii, which influenced imagery in art.

Several towns (Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, Oplontis, Boscoreale) in the province of Naples were preserved through the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE.⁴⁰ Of these towns, Pompeii is one of the largest and therefore has a wide range of preserved houses, with larger sample sizes across the range.⁴¹ Houses in Pompeii were built continuously during the span of the Republic and Empire until Vesuvius erupted. Thus, not only can houses of the different social classes be studied, but also different styles through time. Various different sumptuary laws were enacted throughout Pompeii’s history and the House of the Faun was built around the same time that the sumptuary laws were passed (varying from 215 to 18 BCE),⁴² hence this house is a good reflection of the architecture and interior space design from this period.

2.4 RELIGION

As religion is a complex phenomenon, only a broad, basic overview will be given of Roman religion in order to understand religious imagery specifically in the House of

³⁸ Clarke, 2003: 247.

³⁹ Clarke, 2003: 250.

⁴⁰ The houses preserved in the Naples area are the best-preserved Roman houses within Italy of the Republican period. In Rome itself, hardly any houses survived, only fragments of larger structures (temples, palaces, forums, and so forth) and the rare apartment block ruins. Ostia Antica (a Roman harbour) has some partially preserved houses, but these are from the second century CE onwards, which is from a different time period from the houses in this study.

⁴¹ Today, Pompeii is known as *Parco Archeologico Di Pompei* (“Archaeological Park of Pompeii”) which is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and is open to the public (Parco Archeologico di Pompei, 2017: 1).

⁴² Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 11.

the Faun.⁴³ Roman religion was not an independent occurrence, but seems to have been interwoven with cultural and political practices.⁴⁴ Religion facilitated communication between different political entities that came under the rule of Rome.⁴⁵ Religious rituals allowed social divisions to be clearly expressed, whether gender, class or otherwise.⁴⁶ Religion mainly benefited the ruling class, again showing its political function, but was also expressed in cultural practices such as games that united the populace.⁴⁷ “No unified Roman religion existed, but there was no independent religion either”.⁴⁸ This unifying and integrating political function of Roman religion was visible by its ability to incorporate new gods without discarding the old.⁴⁹

As Rome expanded across the Mediterranean, so did its cults. Despite adopting many Greek cults and deities, Rome’s pantheon was never as organised as the Greek pantheon.⁵⁰ Even during pre-Roman Campania, cults of foreign origins were accepted into Campanian culture,⁵¹ however Pompeii was more accepting towards “new” cults and practices that might be considered to pose a danger to the unity of the state.⁵² Pre-Roman Pompeii already had established cults dedicated to Apollo, Venus, and Isis.⁵³ Smaller sanctuaries have been identified that were dedicated to Dionysus and Neptune.⁵⁴ The temples throughout Pompeii showed the importance

⁴³ For the role that religion plays in forming social and psychological development, see Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman (2010: 60-71). Balch (2004: 27-46) looked at the presence of Pauline churches in Pompeian houses, using the House of the Faun as an example. Holland (2011: 211-226) discussed the same-name system in Roman religion, in particular Liber/Libera, Faunus/Fauna, Janus/Jana. See Sirks (1994: 273-296) on the relationship between *sacra* (“religious rites”) and the *lex Voconia* (169 BCE).

⁴⁴ Brittain, 2010: 22. Also see Petersen (2011: 9). For a discussion on cults and divinations in ancient Rome, see Rupke (2004: 180).

⁴⁵ Rupke, 2004: 194.

⁴⁶ Rupke, 2004: 193.

⁴⁷ Dillon & Garland, 2015: 100.

⁴⁸ Rupke, 2004: 194.

⁴⁹ Dillon & Garland, 2015: 137.

⁵⁰ Rupke, 2004: 193.

⁵¹ Small, 2009: 185.

⁵² Small, 2009: 185.

⁵³ Bernstein, 1996: 102.

⁵⁴ Small, 2009: 185.

of religion in the public life of Romans. There was a temple to Apollo whose cult originated in the early sixth century BCE with the beginning of the city.⁵⁵

When a new form of the Dionysus cult reached Italy, Rome ordered its suppression even in Pompeii, which was not a Roman community at the time. The Capitulum, after the Capitoline hill in Rome, was built in Pompeii for the “three-fold cult” of Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno.⁵⁶ This cult established *Romanitas* in Pompeii and the superiority of the most important Roman cult. Venus was equally important to the Roman cult, and was known as *Venus Pompeiana* in Pompeii.⁵⁷ Because she was the patron divinity of Pompeii, the town was even known as the city of Venus.⁵⁸ Household religion included praying and giving burnt offerings to the *lares familiares* (“guardian household deities”),⁵⁹ *penates* (“guardian spirits of the household storeroom”)⁶⁰ and the *genius* (“the spirit of the *paterfamilias*”).⁶¹ House fronts and/or *fauces* were often painted with images of the owner’s patron deities, whether the owner was a shopkeeper or a private homeowner.⁶² Images of the private household gods were however displayed at the *lararium* within the house, where offerings of wine, fruit, garlands, incense, honey cakes and blood sacrifices were brought to the *lares*.⁶³ The Dionysus cult was common in private cults in Pompeii, even though no temple was formally dedicated to the god,⁶⁴ however he was often depicted in domestic art.

⁵⁵ Small, 2009: 184.

⁵⁶ Dillon & Garland, 2015: 102. Dionysus imagery and themes in art will be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁵⁷ Small, 2009: 186. “Venus Pompeiana—or as Venus Fisica, the goddess of Nature. The two were sometimes combined as Venus Fisica Pompeiana” (Small, 2009: 186). See Bernstein (1996: 99-110) for imagery of Venus found in Pompeii (the House of the Venus Marina).

⁵⁸ Carroll, 2010: 63.

⁵⁹ *Lares* were considered the most important deities and were often depicted as two men in rural clothing with drinking horns (Clarke, 1991: 8). There were also different *lares*, for example the *lares compitales* (“*lares* of crossroads”) and *lares familiares* (“family protectors”) (Clarke, 1991: 9).

⁶⁰ Robinson, 2002: 97.

⁶¹ Clarke, 1991: 9. Robinson (2002: 93-100) discusses the different burnt materials found on *lararia* in Pompeian houses.

⁶² Small, 2009: 190.

⁶³ Clarke, 1991: 9. Lipka (2006: 327-358) investigated domestic cults in three Pompeian houses and considered imperial cults within the domestic setting.

⁶⁴ Small, 2009: 194. See Graf (2007: 55-71) on religion and drama with a focus on Dionysus.

2.5 SUMPTUARY LAWS

Laws were and still are used to alter the direction of a society.⁶⁵ The various sumptuary laws during the Republic indicate that wealthy Romans often chose to spend their wealth lavishly,⁶⁶ as they were overly concerned with displaying their own social status.⁶⁷ Conspicuous consumption increased during the Republic, and so sumptuary laws were only enacted until the Empire, when conspicuous consumption declined.⁶⁸

Various explanations have been given for the emergence of the sumptuary laws.⁶⁹ Conspicuous consumption was considered a “negative moral judgement”, meaning it showed poor judgement and indulgence in luxury, which was not “Roman”, thus the sumptuary laws were created to return to a positive moral outlook and prevent luxury from spreading further. Another justification is that these laws protected family riches, as it was impossible to waste one’s fortune on what was restricted. Lastly, the laws could have emerged due to the expansion of Rome in the second century BCE, which created an uneven growth between political and economic power. Political and economic power was held by the senatorial class, however the rising equestrian class gained part of the economic power.⁷⁰ Growing riches meant that the equestrian class could spend more on conspicuous expenditures, and by doing so also acquire more political partners and followers, called *ambitus*. Thus, these laws were intended to control electoral rivalry, and to prevent the newly rich

⁶⁵ Thomas *et al.*, 2000: 15. Roman society shaped public and private law, meaning laws were adapted as society changed (Aubert, 2004: 162). Any society is forever changing, developing or declining and these changes can be observed in a society’s laws (Thomas *et al.*, 2000: 15).

⁶⁶ Aubert, 2004: 169. Also see Silver (2007: 347).

⁶⁷ Grubbs, 2002: 71. Also see Reinhold (1971: 275).

⁶⁸ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 2.

⁶⁹ For an in-depth explanation of the emergence, persistence and enforcement of sumptuary laws, see Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka (2012: 1-26). Despite the concern for morals that these laws showed, it should be noted that they were hardly ever enforced. A fiscal fine was in no way a loss to the violator; it would only aid the indication of wealth. Therefore, “enforcement of sumptuary laws was a self-defeating policy: the very purpose of the sumptuary laws made it necessary to refrain from enforcing them” (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 7). Also see Reinhold (1971: 277) and Brundage (1987: 350).

⁷⁰ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 3.

equestrian class from having too much political power.⁷¹ The very presence of these laws show that conspicuous consumption was an increasing issue for the ancient Romans.

The earliest *lex sumptuaria* aimed at the wealthy was the *lex Metilia Fullinibus Dicta* (220 BCE).⁷² This law controlled the detergent use of launderers, but in effect controlled the way money was spent by private consumers.⁷³ During 218 BCE, the *plebiscitum Claudianum* prohibited the wealthy from trading via ships, and they had to find other means of investing and displaying their wealth, such as purchasing large properties in the Bay of Naples or Etruria.⁷⁴

From 182 to 18 BCE, there were almost 11 bylaws with regard to banquets held in private residences. These included controlling invitations, food, and related expenses. Other forms of luxury or the display of wealth were not regulated to the same extent as banquets.⁷⁵ Hosting a banquet gave the host multiple opportunities to indicate personal wealth. Not only could the host afford an exclusive dinner, but he could also “display” the number of important and powerful social connections, alongside his expensive taste in décor, architecture and food. Some conspicuous expenditures served the general population and did not directly influence the increase of political and economic power. These general signalling expenditures included splendid houses, gifts to *clientes*, or funding of public games.⁷⁶ The *domus* offered the wealthy *paterfamilias* the opportunity to display wealth and social status.⁷⁷

Laws such as the *lex Orchia* and *lex Julia Caesaris* prevented the newly rich aristocrats, meaning the rising equestrians, from increasing their social and political

⁷¹ Daube, 1969: 126.

⁷² See Addendum B for a summary of these laws.

⁷³ Aubert, 2004: 168.

⁷⁴ Aubert, 2004: 169.

⁷⁵ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 2.

⁷⁶ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 6.

⁷⁷ Cornell, 2000: 47.

connections by hosting lavish banquets.⁷⁸ Imported products lost their signalling value due to laws such as the *lex Cornelia*, which made these imported products undesirable for the elite and made local products more favourable.⁷⁹ Other food-restricting laws, namely the *lex Fannia*,⁸⁰ the *lex Licinia* and the *lex Aemilia*, aimed at favouring local products and prevented the trading equestrians from rising to the “landed aristocracy” level.⁸¹ Laws such as the *lex Oppia*, concerning women, not only restricted how much women spent, but how they displayed their wealth, and effectively tried to prevent them from rising above the male aristocratic members of society.⁸²

2.6 CONCLUSION

The social, economic and political context of the Roman Republic had a definite effect on conspicuous consumption. The wealth of the Republic increased after expanding territories and war booty, which made the wealthy even richer and new freedman had the option of displaying new-found wealth. This increased the competition to display status and wealth, which increased conspicuous consumption. With the expansion of territories came new customs and traditions, especially the highly valued Hellenistic way of life. The highly sought-after status that came with the Hellenistic lifestyle, presented an opportunity for conspicuous consumption. Hellenistic gods, amongst other non-Roman gods, played an important role in public and private life and were cult images associated with status and royalty. These religious images thus became part of the conspicuous consumption repertoire. The

⁷⁸ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 13. For a brief description of each sumptuary law mentioned, see Addendum B.

⁷⁹ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 15. Also see Watson (2007: 28).

⁸⁰ Rosivach, 2006: 6.

⁸¹ Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 14. Also see Robinson (2007: 207). For the different types of food served at banquets, see D’Arms (2004: 428-450).

⁸² Brundage (1987: 343-355) briefly discussed the *lex Oppia*, *lex Orchia*, *lex Fannia*, *lex Aemilia*, in order to show the similarities between these laws and the sumptuary laws in medieval Italy. Also see Cooley & Cooley (2014: 212-226) on law and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum. For Roman law in a social and political context, see Cairns & Du Plessis (2007), however they discuss very little of the sumptuary laws.

rise in conspicuous consumption, due to these various reasons, was limited by sumptuary laws. Sumptuary laws restricted only certain behaviours and expenditures, thus the wealthy began to find alternative ways of displaying their wealth, for example conspicuous consumption within the domestic space.

3 ROMAN WOMEN AND CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Conspicuous consumption in regard to women in ancient Rome has been established as relatively common, with some of sumptuary laws being created to curb the luxury surrounding them. However, the display of conspicuous consumption by women was not entirely in their hands. The *paterfamilias* displayed his wealth and status through the women in his household. If the house was an extension of the *paterfamilias* just as the woman was an extension of the *paterfamilias*, then the house and the woman are effectively equal in being extensions of the owner.¹ Therefore, by first identifying the various ways women displayed conspicuous consumption it will be easier to identify how conspicuous consumption was displayed in the house. The *paterfamilias* could display conspicuous consumption on similar levels through either the house or women. Men created an ideal for how women should act, dress, and present themselves.² In terms of presentation and dress this included a well-rounded, honourable, simple look. Women often did not keep to this ideal, as they competed with each other and/or the *paterfamilias* wanted to display his status through his women. It is therefore necessary to establish the Roman ideal for women in order to discover how they displayed conspicuous consumption by either diverting from or overtly displaying this “ideal”.³

¹ See Löw (2006: 126) and Belk (1988: 157).

² During the Roman Republic, all writers were men, and therefore wrote from their point of view and included their own opinions, so women in literature were portrayed from the male perspective (Trümper, 2012: 291).

³ The purpose of this study is to identify how conspicuous consumption was displayed in the houses of the wealthy, and therefore only women of wealth will be focused on in this chapter. Lower classes do imitate conspicuous behaviour of upper classes, known as the bandwagon effect. This behaviour of lower-class women can be helpful in identifying how upper-class women displayed wealth, as lower classes had cheaper imitation versions of the original expensive items, but this will only be mentioned briefly where applicable.

3.2 THE MALE IDEAL FOR WOMEN

A Roman girl from a wealthy family was expected to marry at a young age (around 14)⁴ and become a *matrona*, meaning a chaste, devoted wife and mother.⁵ From a very young age, girls were being prepared to assume these roles.⁶ A *matrona* had to oversee the household and slaves, make clothes,⁷ in addition to her role as mother. It was expected of women to take part in religious rites. Not only were rites performed for their own families but for the Republic as a whole.⁸ Women also had to spend a substantial amount of time on their physical appearance to reach the ideal of a clean, extremely refined look of femininity.⁹ Women of wealth were also expected to do “passive” activities, such as walking, to keep their feminine appearance.¹⁰ Thus, the *matrona* had to be well-behaved, chaste, and modest, not only in terms of behaviour, but clothing as well.

Women were generally associated with the inside or private domestic space and men with the public, outside space.¹¹ Women were expected to stay at home for several reasons; to stay chaste and out of sight from other men,¹² to run the household, and to bear children;¹³ all aspects of an ideal *matrona*. Women with three or more children were considered to have done their duty. In other words, they achieved the ideal for a woman, and received special privileges.¹⁴ The Roman ideal for a woman was closely related to the domestic space. The *paterfamilias* had complete control

⁴ Clark, 1981: 201.

⁵ Johnson & Ryan, 2005: 5. Also see Olasope (2009: 10).

⁶ Status and gender ideals of the upper class were materialised through highly ornamented dolls often stylised after important aristocratic women, and these prepared girls for their ideal roles as women (Dolansky, 2012: 268). By adorning, dressing and undressing the dolls girls learned of modesty, the ideal female shape and how wealthy women adorned themselves (Dolansky, 2012: 269).

⁷ Clark, 1981: 198.

⁸ Boatwright, 2011: 112.

⁹ Dolansky, 2012: 270.

¹⁰ Dolansky, 2012: 277.

¹¹ Allison, 2007: 347.

¹² Gardner, 2010: 105. Some husbands actively allowed their wives to get attention from other men (Tracy, 1976: 62), which might have contributed to overt display of status or why men started competing through their wives.

¹³ Winter, 2003: 6.

¹⁴ Mosier-Dubinsky, 2013: 7.

over the household, meaning he could make life and death decisions over each family member,¹⁵ however the *matrona* was in charge of managing the household staff.¹⁶

Roman women had access to all parts of the house, not only certain women-specific areas as in Greek houses.¹⁷ Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.7.2-4) explains how women were separated from men in Greek houses, and how such a division was not customary in Roman houses. When the Romans adopted the Greek *peristylum* and *triclinium*, they continued using the original Greek words,¹⁸ and not finding evidence for the use of the Greek word *gynaeconitis* (“women’s area”)¹⁹ amongst the Romans indicates that they did not have a use for this word because they did not have separate allocated areas for women. Roman women were usually to be found in the *atrium* busy spinning and weaving. This was also to ensure that anyone that entered the house immediately saw the handy work of the *matrona* fulfilling her duty as woman.²⁰ Often women would create the most extravagant and costly garments by their own hand as it was an opportunity to exhibit their own wealth and status.²¹ A great number of loom weights were found in Pompeian households, in the *atrium* or *atrium* “bedrooms” and/or *peristylum*, regardless of the social or economic status of the household. In the domestic sense, weaving was connected to women rather than men,²² therefore it is more likely that women were present where loom weights were found. In other words, spinning and weaving required women to be present in

¹⁵ Wieand, 1917: 380.

¹⁶ Allison, 2007: 346. Wealthy families taught their daughters how to run the household instead of how to do household work such as cooking or cleaning. Weaving and spinning was however still expected of them (Clark, 1981:198).

¹⁷ Wieand, 1917: 381. For more on gender-specific areas in Greek housing, see Antonaccio (2000: 517-533) and Trümper (2012: 287-303).

¹⁸ Mau, 1899: 241.

¹⁹ Antonaccio, 2000: 522. Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.7.2) refers to the *gynaeconitis* when talking about the women’s area in Greek houses.

²⁰ Culham, 2004: 154.

²¹ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 180.

²² Allison, 2007: 348. However, there is not a proven connection between where loom weights have been found and the presence of women, as there were various factors such as the eruption of Vesuvius that could have altered their location.

the *atrium*, which was a highly public space and made women extremely visible to visitors.

A woman's identity, socially and legally, rested on her gender-specific roles as a daughter, a mother and a wife.²³ The male ideal for the *matrona* was as a daughter who does not bring her father shame, an obedient, chaste wife,²⁴ a mother to her children,²⁵ manager of the household and its activities, performer of religious rites,²⁶ and they were to do all of this with a specific male-determined appearance, elegance and beauty.²⁷ Women had to stay in these prescribed roles so as not to disrupt the order where men were in control.²⁸

3.3 WOMEN AND THE *LEX OPPIA*

During the Republic, men were often away on military duty,²⁹ and women became more involved in the public sector.³⁰ Religious ceremonies, old and new, were performed every few weeks and many of these rites included women.³¹ *Matronae* and high priestesses were often seen in the forum for religious activities.³² With this came the opportunity to compete with other women in various ways. Women had the opportunity then to use their gold and silver religious utensils, amongst other objects, to compete and to display their increased wealth.³³ Women abandoned

²³ Mosier-Dubinsky, 2013: 2.

²⁴ Gardner, 2010: 103.

²⁵ Brittain, 2010: 16.

²⁶ Boatwright, 2011: 112.

²⁷ Wieand, 1917: 381. Cornelia Gracchus was often referred to as the ideal *matrona* (MacLachlan, 2013: 67-70).

²⁸ Takács, 2008: 16.

²⁹ Johnson & Ryan, 2005: 5.

³⁰ Allison, 2007: 347. Also see D'Ambra (2007: 166).

³¹ Culham, 2004: 145. See Brittain (2010: 22-31) on the role of women in the Vestal religious practices. Also see MacLachlan (2013: 38-48) on women, the vestals, and Bacchic rituals. For the religious duties and sacred vows of women, see D'Ambra (2007: 166-180). Also see Bernstein (2009: 533-534), and MacLachlan (2013: 38-48).

³² Boatwright, 2011: 111. Other females accompanied *matronae* and high priestesses, such as slaves, "free attendants" and religious staff of low rank (*magistrae* and *ministrae*) (Boatwright, 2011: 111).

³³ Culham, 1982: 789.

their domestic responsibilities as *matronae* when they began competing with each other to achieve a certain level of elegance and refinement.³⁴ Adornment and clothing of wealthy women became extravagant.³⁵

During the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE), the tribune Gaius Oppius instituted the *lex Oppia sumptuaria* (215-195 BCE).³⁶ This law stated that women could not possess more than a *semuncia* (“half an ounce”) of gold or wear *versicolor* (“multi-coloured”, or clothing containing purple) clothing, and limited the use of carriages to within a mile of an *urbs* (“walled city”), with the exception of religious events (Liv. 34.3).³⁷ Rome was economically in trouble because of the Second Punic War and according to Livy, the *lex Oppia* was instituted to relieve the economic distress.³⁸ This also led to private funds being confiscated for public use,³⁹ and not only the limiting of the wealth of women, but how they displayed it.⁴⁰ Culham suggests that this law only implied that a woman could not have more than one *semuncia* on her person, meaning the gold could have been owned by a man and only worn by the woman.⁴¹

Plautus incorporated the stereotypical “well-dowered” wife in his comedies, implicitly revealing the male anxiety about the power held by women with large dowries.⁴² An issue raised by Plautus (*Epid.* 225-234) is that women claimed not to be able to pay taxes but walked around in public wearing expensive clothing and jewellery. He mentions mainly the type of garments worn and colours, not the type of textile (Plaut. *Epid.* 225-234). Some people considered it offensive that women

³⁴ Dolansky, 2012: 274.

³⁵ Corley, 1993: 53.

³⁶ Aubert, 2004: 169. Also see Silver (2007: 347), Berry (1994: 74-86), Milnor (2005: 154-164), MacLachlan (2013: 58).

³⁷ A *semuncia* was about half an ounce of gold. *Versicolor* mainly referred to clothing containing purple. *Urbs* implied a walled town or city (Liv. 34.3.9). Culham (1986: 237) explains that Livy also referred to *versicolor* as to include mainly the colour purple. Culham continues that legal literature later, however, made it clear that *versicolor* was fairly different from purple. *Versicolor* garments were possibly banded with contrasting colours such as purple (Culham, 1986: 237).

³⁸ Culham, 1982: 786.

³⁹ Culham, 1982: 787.

⁴⁰ Johnston, 1980: 145.

⁴¹ Culham, 1982: 787.

⁴² Culham, 2004: 150. Plautus aimed to address the consequences of troublesome behaviour based on real circumstances (Nichols, 2010: 56).

displayed so much wealth, even more so during times of war, as this was proof that not everyone was in distress.⁴³ Plautus (*Aul.* 498-502) mentions the conspicuous demands of well-dowered wives, which were specifically related to the *lex Oppia*.⁴⁴ During 184 BCE, women were also heavily taxed on indulgences such as clothes, jewellery, and carriages. Laws such as the *lex Voconia* and *lex Furia* were aimed at reducing how much women inherited during 169 BCE.⁴⁵ Wealthy families with more than one daughter were later affected by the *lex Falcidia* (40 BCE),⁴⁶ where female heirs could lose out on 75 percent of their dowry.⁴⁷

It seems the most important recognised forms of conspicuous consumption relating to women were gold, jewellery, religious utensils, coloured clothing and carriages, as these objects were often taxed, and laws were created to limit their usage.

3.4 THE CONSPICUOUS ROMAN WOMAN

Based on these laws and taxations, it is now easier to identify conspicuous behaviour amongst wealthy women. In Livy's (34.1-7) account of the repeal of the *lex Oppia*, he uses words specifically related to a "woman's world", such as *munditia*, *ornatus*, *cultus*, and *mundus muliebris* (Liv. 34.7.9).⁴⁸ These terms that were also frequently used by other ancient Roman authors, were indicators of outward femininity.⁴⁹

Munditia was the Latin word for "cleanliness" and "neatness" but could also mean "elegance". Words associated with cleanliness and neatness were used to describe

⁴³ Culham, 1982: 791.

⁴⁴ See Morton Braund (2005: 48-50) for a discussion on satiric advice on women and dowries in the *Aulularia*.

⁴⁵ MacLachlan, 2013: 64. Also see Milnor (2005: 153).

⁴⁶ Culham, 2004: 151.

⁴⁷ Culham, 2004: 150.

⁴⁸ Livy (34.7.9) explained that "*munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri*", meaning "elegance of appearance, adornment, apparel these are the woman's badges of honour; in these they rejoice and take delight; these our ancestors called the woman's world" (Translation by Heinemann, 1935).

⁴⁹ Olson, 2008: 6.

the wealthy as they had money to devote to extensive upkeep of their personal appearance.⁵⁰ Therefore, one could say that the upper classes were distinguished by their cleanliness and elegance, and thus the clean, adorned woman had a great deal of social worth. *Ornatus* means adornment or to enhance adornment and was connected to public display. *Cultus* was used for the concepts of lavishness or artificiality of personal upkeep, physical appearance, and clothing. Thus, a woman's status and in a sense, physical appeal was signalled by her cleanliness, elegance and refinement. *Cultus* and *ornatus* were often used to describe the ornamentation of women.⁵¹ *Mundus muliebris* were the toiletries women used to achieve *munditia* and *ornatus*, and literally meant to be "neater and cleaner and by implication noble and elegant".⁵² Only women from a certain status and financial group had the time and money to achieve a polished feminine appearance, whereas lower-class women and slaves helped these wealthy women achieve this ideal.⁵³ Lower classes and slaves were recognised by being filthy and scruffy, which was the complete opposite of rich women.⁵⁴

A woman was distinguished by how much *cultus*, *ornatus*, and *munditia* she displayed, immediately placing her within a specific social class.⁵⁵ The complete regimen of cleaning, dress, applying cosmetics and wigs indicated a woman's social standing.⁵⁶ Too much beautification (*cultus*, *ornatus*, and *munditia*) was dangerous and led to "over-refinement and luxury".⁵⁷ Being the insignia of women (Liv. 34.7.9), these aspects were the first to be conspicuously displayed. As Olson explains, *ornatus* refers to ornamentation such as clothing and gold, which were two aspects limited by the *lex Oppia*. The terms *ornatus* and *cultus* were often used interchangeably, and therefore a woman that was aesthetically pleasing in terms of hairstyle, makeup,

⁵⁰ Harlow, 2012: 41.

⁵¹ Olson, 2008: 8.

⁵² Harlow, 2012: 43.

⁵³ Dolansky, 2012: 273.

⁵⁴ Olson, 2008: 7.

⁵⁵ Olson, 2008: 9.

⁵⁶ D'Ambra, 2007: 113.

⁵⁷ Olson, 2008: 9.

jewellery and clothing was *culta*. Clothing, jewellery and ornaments could also be considered as *mundus*.⁵⁸ Aspects related to these concepts will be discussed to better understand conspicuous consumption amongst women.

3.4.1 Clothing of Women

It is not a modern phenomenon for women to express themselves through fashion.⁵⁹ As seen in many ancient cultures, people used clothing to form and define their character.⁶⁰ The wearer's identity was suggested by the choice of clothing that simultaneously created a social persona and communicated social position, and thus could regulate society.⁶¹ The wealthy used fashion to differentiate themselves from lower classes, and therefore this became a powerful tool in displaying social status.⁶² Clothing had the power to visually communicate various truths or lies such as: birth, rank, wealth, rights, and occupation,⁶³ through the use of conspicuous consumption and status consumption. Clothing had a recognised and accepted set of symbols, such as the colour purple, which conveyed social status and "power and authority".⁶⁴ By using clothing, cosmetics and various ornamentation, a woman created a social persona for herself, defined her individuality,⁶⁵ and determined her own visibility. Women therefore created a certain amount of social authority and the power to influence others.⁶⁶ Symbolic interaction theory plays an important interpretative role here. Because the *matrona* became more visible and frequented the forum, interaction with members of the community increased, and with this, symbolic meaning attached to self-adornment increased, which led to increased conspicuous consumption.

⁵⁸ Olson, 2008: 8.

⁵⁹ Harlow, 2012: 37.

⁶⁰ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 179.

⁶¹ Harlow, 2012: 38.

⁶² Brundage, 1987: 343. However, people could also use clothing to conceal their own social standing and create a false social position (Olson, 2008: 1).

⁶³ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 180.

⁶⁴ Olson, 2008: 6.

⁶⁵ Olson, 2008: 10.

⁶⁶ Olson, 2008: 4.

Roman clothing was conservative in the sense that it was of simple design and remained the same for centuries.⁶⁷ Roman men and women from all classes wore a basic sleeved tunic and depending on the length, breadth, colour and material, it indicated a person's gender and social status.⁶⁸ For example, a shorter, thinner tunic indicated manual labour, whereas a long, voluminous tunic was heavy and made physical work harder.⁶⁹ Slave women and free lower-class women looked similar in terms of clothing as both wore the basic tunic.⁷⁰ The appearance of the slave also depended on what type of work she did and who she worked for, whether it was the elite, lower classes, or courtesans.⁷¹ The owner could also display their own wealth through the slave with clothing and jewellery.⁷² Lower-class women wore a small scarf with their tunic and were not veiled like a *matrona*. *Caracallae* ("cloaks") made from coarse linen were also worn.⁷³

The *matrona* was recognised by her clothing, which indicated her wealth, social standing, and her decency. She wore a long, capacious *tunica*, a *stola*,⁷⁴ and a *palla* ("type of cloak or scarf"), and her hair was done with woollen fillets.⁷⁵ The *stola* was slipped over the *tunica* and was long to cover her feet. The *stola* was loosely wrapped so as not to show her body, indicating her *puđicitia* ("modesty"),⁷⁶ with a belt often tied at the waistline. The *stola* had shoulder straps, called *institae*,⁷⁷ particularly on

⁶⁷ Sebesta, 2001: 65.

⁶⁸ Tunics for women were made of two large pieces of material that were attached at the shoulder. Sleeves were created when gaps were fastened over the arms (Olson, 2008: 25). When the tunic was worn without the *stola*, a coloured and/or bejewelled cord was bound under the bust (Olson, 2008: 26).

⁶⁹ Harlow, 2012: 39.

⁷⁰ George, 2002: 43. Slaves just wore a basic tunic as there was no identifiable slave-specific clothing (George, 2002: 43). Sebesta (2001: 70), however, mentions slaves' clothing being sold at the Tiber docks and brown wool that was used for slave wear. The slave woman would also have been barefoot or wearing tattered shoes (Olson, 2008: 43).

⁷¹ Olson, 2008: 43.

⁷² George, 2002: 44.

⁷³ Olson, 2008: 45.

⁷⁴ The *stola* of a woman implied that she was legally married to another citizen, thus the *stola* was a sign of honour (Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 180), and symbolised the goodness and modesty of a woman (Winter, 2003: 99).

⁷⁵ Sebesta, 2001: 48.

⁷⁶ Winter, 2003: 99.

⁷⁷ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 96

upper-class dresses.⁷⁸ Lastly, a *palla* was also worn, which was used to cover the head of the *matrona* when she left the house, also a sign of modesty and honour.⁷⁹ The *palla* became an extremely important sign of status because it indicated that a woman did not take part in physical labour,⁸⁰ which was also a good opportunity to display wealth conspicuously. An extra piece of fabric, a *limbus*, was often added to the hem of the *stola* to create the illusion of another dress worn underneath, which symbolised status and wealth.⁸¹ Lower-class women did not have the privilege of wearing the *palla*, *institae*, or *limbus*, which were all reserved for aristocratic women.

3.4.1.1 Fabric of clothing

The elite woman's *stola* was often skilfully made with an extravagant amount of different fabrics, especially new and imported fabrics, and new dyes for colouring, which indicated the wearer's ability to pay for skilful weavers and the necessary, and expensive, upkeep of such garments.⁸² Clothing was usually made from wool and it was considered the most suitable for the respectable *matrona*.⁸³ Luxury fabrics were available to the wealthy, such as Arabian wool, Egyptian linen,⁸⁴ and gold-embroidered fabrics from Pergamum. Cotton was also mixed with linen or wool to create light-weight and durable fabrics.⁸⁵ Lodex and the Alexandrian polymita, a type of damask, were also highly prized.⁸⁶ Conspicuous consumption of linen even extended to brightly coloured shades for houses.⁸⁷ Silk and Coan silk,⁸⁸ both extravagantly expensive fabrics, were associated with prostitutes as they were light and transparent, and thus not suitable for the chaste *matrona*.⁸⁹ Like cotton, silk was

⁷⁸ Leon, 1949: 378.

⁷⁹ Sebesta, 2001: 48.

⁸⁰ Olson, 2008: 35

⁸¹ Sebesta, 2001: 67.

⁸² Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 180. Also see Sebesta (2001: 69).

⁸³ Harlow, 2012: 42.

⁸⁴ Sebesta, 2001: 67.

⁸⁵ Sebesta, 2001: 68.

⁸⁶ Sebesta, 2001: 69.

⁸⁷ Sebesta, 2001: 70.

⁸⁸ The caterpillar, from the island of Cos, that produced fibers for Coan silk, was similar to the Chinese silkworm, producing a highly transparent material (Keith, 2008: 194).

⁸⁹ Harlow, 2012: 42. "Silk was very expensive – equal to gold, by weight..." (Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 65).

blended with other fibres, and by adding gold and purple, various luxurious fabrics were created.⁹⁰

3.4.1.2 Colour of clothing

Despite the simplicity of the *stola*, women had more colour possibilities and the opportunity to adorn their garments, with bead, metal or applique decorations.⁹¹ The colour of clothing often had a strong symbolic meaning and certain colours were “reserved” for certain classes, and colours such as yellow and violet were reserved for women. Yellow was very prestigious but was mainly used for wedding veils.⁹² Various colours such as *caesicius* (“sky blue”), *crocotulus* (“red-orange”), *caltulus* (“bright yellow”), *carinus* (“brown”), and *cerinus* (“pale yellow”)⁹³ have been mentioned by Plautus (*Epid.* 230-5). Ovid (*Ars am.* 3.169-92) asked women not to flaunt their wealth by continually wearing purple, but to instead choose colours that suited their skin tones.

Vitruvius (*De arch.* 7.13.2) writes of four hues of purple, *atrum*, *lividum*, *violaceo*, *rubra* (“black”, “blue”, “violet”, and “red”), all made from the *marino conchylio*, a marine shellfish.⁹⁴ *Purpureus* described a range of shades from reds to dark purple, and was made from *murex* and *purpura*, types of salt-water snails. *Coccineus* (“scarlet red”) was made from an insect found on the scarlet oak tree.⁹⁵ Another version of purple, *hysginum*, was made from the *Kermococcus vermilio* female insect. Thousands of these female insects were needed to produce an ounce of dye, which

⁹⁰ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 65.

⁹¹ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 46.

⁹² Olson, 2008: 12.

⁹³ Sebesta (2001: 66) describes *cerinus* as brownish yellow, whereas Olson (2008: 11) gives a description of a pale or wax-like yellow.

⁹⁴ Vitruvius (*De arch.* 7.13.2) refers to marine shellfish; the *murex* is a marine snail. Various marine shells contain the dye gland; however, the *trunculus Linnaeus* and *brandaris Linnaeus* *murex*, and *Thais haemastoma* were used most commonly for Roman, Greek and Phoenician dyes (Marzano, 2013: 143).

⁹⁵ Armstrong, 1917: 1. Vitruvius (*De arch.* 7.13.3) and Sebesta (2001: 69) describe how these hues were made from the *murex conchylium*.

made *hyssginum* and *coccineus* incredibly expensive.⁹⁶ *Puniceus*, another luxury dye, was made from whelk that was found on the coast of Phoenicia.⁹⁷

These colours are made from organic materials that are difficult to find and work, which makes them so rare and expensive and desirable to the wealthy. Not only did the economic value of purple make it desirable for the wealthy, but the symbolic value is just as important.⁹⁸ Purple was already associated with the uppermost classes by 800 BCE.⁹⁹ During the sixth century, the Persian king reserved purple exclusively for royalty.¹⁰⁰ After Greece conquered Persia, they adopted the royal purple, which Rome later adopted after taking over the Hellenistic world. To the Romans, purple was associated with Hellenistic royalty, wealth and status.¹⁰¹

The top of the tunic had a border called the *patagium* which was often golden on costly garments. The gold *patagium* tunic became a standard accessory to aristocrats and the elite.¹⁰² Gold cloth, true purple and pure silk were very expensive materials and garments made of these materials were worn to show a person's social status and economic supremacy.¹⁰³ Most ancient authors, however, did not associate purple with women, but considering that the *lex Oppia* restricted women wearing purple it may very well have been a common occurrence.¹⁰⁴ The sympathetic magic value of blood was represented by the colour red¹⁰⁵ and *purpura* symbolised life and was used as a protection against evil.¹⁰⁶ Religious dress was usually white as it

⁹⁶ Sebesta, 2001: 69.

⁹⁷ Sebesta, 2001: 67.

⁹⁸ Elliot, 2008: 182.

⁹⁹ Elliot, 2008: 179.

¹⁰⁰ Elliot, 2008: 180.

¹⁰¹ Sebesta, 2001: 67.

¹⁰² Olson, 2008: 25.

¹⁰³ Vout, 1996: 215. Also see Cleland *et al.* (2007: 180).

¹⁰⁴ Olson, 2002: 398.

¹⁰⁵ Armstrong, 1917: 5.

¹⁰⁶ Sebesta, 2001: 47.

represented purity and good luck¹⁰⁷ and black was for mourning.¹⁰⁸ The elite considered colours such as cherry red and green-yellow to be lower-class colours.¹⁰⁹

3.4.2 Cosmetics

As mentioned, *mundus muliebris* helped women achieve *munditia* and *ornatus*, in other words become neater and cleaner, and cosmetics played an important part in this process.¹¹⁰ Great esteem was attached to natural beauty and the very important act of cosmetic adornment held some prestige for women.¹¹¹ Only wealthy women could afford the products and proper treatment to achieve a natural neat and clean look, which required a great deal of time and money. A great amount of work went into creating a natural look that seemed to involve no effort.¹¹²

A smooth, fair complexion became a status indicator and women of all classes wanted it.¹¹³ To accomplish the desired fair complexion, the skin could be whitened through different cosmetic ingredients such as *cerussa*,¹¹⁴ *melinum*,¹¹⁵ and chalk dust mixed with vinegar.¹¹⁶ Other skin-whitening methods that were used, especially by elite women, included crocodile dung and bathing in donkey milk.¹¹⁷ Some women also coloured their cheeks with rouge and coloured their eyelashes and lids. Nevertheless, beauty was mainly centred around the complexion.¹¹⁸ A body without hair, scars, blemishes, and deformities was considered beautiful.¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁷ Armstrong, 1917: 37.

¹⁰⁸ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 38.

¹⁰⁹ Olson, 2008: 12.

¹¹⁰ Harlow, 2012: 43.

¹¹¹ Olson, 2009: 291. Inexpensive cosmetics and perfumes were available for the lower classes, imitating the wealthy (Olson, 2009: 291).

¹¹² D'Ambra, 2007: 113.

¹¹³ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 180.

¹¹⁴ *Cerussa* was made by dissolving flakes of white lead with vinegar; this was then dried and refined (Olson, 2009: 295).

¹¹⁵ *Melinum* was made by mixing calcium carbonate with Melos clay (Olson, 2009: 295).

¹¹⁶ Olson, 2009: 295.

¹¹⁷ Olson, 2009: 296.

¹¹⁸ Olson, 2009: 299.

¹¹⁹ Olson, 2009: 37.

Some of the “paint” women used as cosmetics were also used by artists for frescoes.¹²⁰ Ovid (*Ars am.* 3.40-105) makes a clear connection between the cosmetic beautification of women and art. However, the concept of the woman as an art object will not be taken further in this thesis, just the fact that conspicuous consumption was displayed through the use of cosmetics, which was then similar to the conspicuous consumption displayed through art.

3.4.3 Jewellery

In addition to expensive clothing, women used jewellery and cosmetics to differentiate themselves not only from men, but also from each other. Jewellery was worn for different reasons, such as symbolism, for example signet rings, functionality, such as belts and brooches to keep clothes together, and ornament that served as status indicators. Ornamental status indicators included necklaces, bracelets, armlets, earrings, anklets, hair accessories, and torso chains.¹²¹ Modest Republican values were being challenged by the demand for ostentatious gold and gem jewellery.¹²²

Various metals and materials were used to make jewellery, but as gold was more expensive than other commonly used materials, it was most frequently used as a status indicator.¹²³ Pearls were also considered to be a conspicuous expenditure and like gold and purple were a sign of status and wealth. Pearls were even more expensive than purple (*HN* 9.60). Pliny (*HN* 9.56) writes:

Our ladies quite glory in having these suspended from their fingers, or two or three of them dangling from their ears. For the purpose of ministering to these luxurious tastes, there are various names and wearisome refinements which have been devised by profuseness and prodigality; for after inventing these ear-rings ... as people are in the habit of saying, that ‘a pearl worn by a woman in public, is as good as a lictor walking before her.’ Nay, even more than this, they put them on their feet, and that, not only on the laces of their

¹²⁰ Pliny (*HN* 35.32) writes of four renowned artists that only used four colours in their creations, including *melinum*, *Attic sil*, *Pontic sinopis*, and *atramentum*.

¹²¹ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 98.

¹²² Stout, 2001: 77.

¹²³ Winter, 2003: 105.

sandals, but all over the shoes; it is not enough to wear pearls, but they must tread upon them, and walk with them under foot as well.

It is clear that pearls, in particular, were a very conspicuous expenditure with women wearing them as earrings, rings, and even on shoes. Costume jewellery, “gold”- and “silver”-plated, with imitation gems were common among lower-class women. Gems were made from coloured glass and imitated natural crystals, such as emeralds, sapphires, garnets, and opals.¹²⁴ It is therefore likely that these specific natural gems were status symbols amongst the elite if lower classes tried to imitate them to “falsify” their social standing.¹²⁵

3.4.4 Hairstyles

The *matrona* was also recognised by the *vitta* (“woollen headband”) in her hair.¹²⁶ The *vitta* was a symbol of modesty and chastity of the *matrona*. *Vittae* could also be purple and/or decorated with pearls and gems to display wealth and status.¹²⁷ *Vittae* are rarely found in Roman art and sculpture as they were painted on the sculpture or women were represented veiled, which makes the *vitta* invisible.¹²⁸ The *materfamilias* had her own distinctive hairstyle, the *tutulus*, which was a pointed, high, bun bound with purple woollen fillets.¹²⁹

The Roman *matrona* had a certain appearance to uphold, an ideal look and the perfect behaviour to accompany this look. The *lex Oppia*, however, makes it apparent that women diverted from this ideal and displayed status and wealth conspicuously

¹²⁴ Olson, 2002: 399.

¹²⁵ This is an example of the bandwagon effect as discussed in Chapter 1, where lower classes imitate the fashion of the upper classes. A Roman law in the late Empire prevented this type of behaviour, as it limited actresses from wearing certain ornamentation that was rightfully worn by wealthy women. Not only did these women imitate the upper classes, but they lowered the value of these upper-class insignia (Olson, 2008: 46).

¹²⁶ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 207.

¹²⁷ Olson, 2008: 302.

¹²⁸ Olson, 2008: 38.

¹²⁹ Olson, 2008: 39. The *tutulus* was worn by the *materfamilias*, brides, and vestal virgins, indicating its religious and ritual connotation (Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 202).

through self-presentation using expensive fabrics, dyes, cosmetics, jewels and hairstyles.

3.5 USING WOMEN AS A DISPLAY OF STATUS

Roman women were important assets to their male family members and were “under the guardianship (*tutela*) of their father, husband or nearest male relative”.¹³⁰ When a woman married with *manus* she came under the legal power of her husband, however during the late Republic she could stay under the power of her own *paterfamilias*.¹³¹ From the second century BCE, the *matrona* had more authority over the household as men were away at war,¹³² however she had no legal power over the family.¹³³ While away on military duty, men could display their wealth and generosity through their women back home. Women therefore represented the man, his wealth, and his generosity in his absence. This indirect way of competing assured that men showed their devotion to traditional Roman values and not luxury, without actually losing control of their assets.¹³⁴ The refinement and sophistication of the *matrona* had to match her spouse or *paterfamilias* in his social standing, hence signalling both their rank and wealth.¹³⁵ The *matrona* also represented her household, including family members and slaves, increasing their status.¹³⁶

Wealthy women could also use conspicuous physical appearance as a means to increase their own status and influence, especially in creating erotic and social power. Olson explains that in a society that was male-dominated, a woman could create her own space with the respect and esteem *cultus* provided.¹³⁷ With women’s

¹³⁰ MacLachlan, 2013: 31.

¹³¹ Gardner, 2010: 84.

¹³² Johnson & Ryan, 2005: 5.

¹³³ Gardner, 2010: 87.

¹³⁴ Culham, 1982: 792.

¹³⁵ D'Ambra, 2000: iii.

¹³⁶ Olson, 2008: 97.

¹³⁷ Olson, 2008: 96. Also see D'Ambra (2007: 12).

personal wealth increasing, came the need for independence and power,¹³⁸ and very few women were business owners or in the service of the state and therefore most women gained status through personal beautification, their “badges of honour” (Liv. 34.7).¹³⁹ Evidence has been found of a woman importing Spanish wine and oil, and another aristocratic woman owned brick factories, with brick-stamps bearing her name.¹⁴⁰ The House of Julia Felix (II.4.3), one of the largest houses in Pompeii, was owned by a female, Julia Felix. She decided to rent out part of the house and open her private baths to the public after the earthquake of 62 CE.¹⁴¹ Despite legislation and men’s perception that women were weak and incompetent, evidence shows women handled affairs with great success.¹⁴²

3.6 PARALLELS BETWEEN THE WOMAN AND THE HOUSE

Women were however, not the only way men displayed their wealth and status. The house, much like the woman, could act as a vehicle to display the wealth of the *paterfamilias* or husband through conspicuous consumption. Both the woman and the house were a representation of the owner, which was the *paterfamilias*.¹⁴³ By identifying conspicuous consumption displayed by women, it is possible to establish the conspicuous consumption that was displayed in the *domus* even though no sumptuary laws existed aimed at the *domus*.

Certain analogies can be created to pinpoint conspicuous consumption within the *domus* based on how women displayed it. The most important function of clothing was to cover and protect the *matrona* from the stares and advances of other men,¹⁴⁴ and from the elements,¹⁴⁵ just like the physical structure of the house was first and

¹³⁸ Culham, 2004: 150.

¹³⁹ Also see Culham (1982: 791) discussing Livy (34.7).

¹⁴⁰ Allison, 2007: 347. For more on women at work, see Gardner (1991: 233-255).

¹⁴¹ Allison, 2007: 347.

¹⁴² Gardner, 1991: 22.

¹⁴³ Thomas, 2007: 21.

¹⁴⁴ Gardner, 2010: 105. This mainly pertained to women of higher social classes, as slaves and prostitutes were still exposed to the advances of men (Gardner, 2010: 105).

¹⁴⁵ D’Ambra, 2007: 3.

foremost to protect and cover the residents. Moreover, besides the basic clothing pieces, wealthy women had extra insignia pieces, similarly the house of the wealthy had extra rooms added to the basic structure. Expensive and rare fabrics of clothing can be paralleled to expensive materials used within the house, for example expensive and rare marble or glass for mosaics.

An evident correlation, also identified by scholars like Olson, is art and cosmetics, as women and artists used the same paints. In other words, the beautifying of a woman's face is parallel to the beautifying of the walls and floors of the house. Jewellery can be paralleled to furniture and sculptures, as they were moveable objects and were often made from rare and expensive materials, and had excessive, extravagant ornamentations. Hairstyles were sculpted and ornamented in a similar manner to natural elements such as gardens. These analogies will be used to discuss and investigate the different forms of conspicuous consumption within the Roman *domus*.

3.7 CONCLUSION

The Roman (male) ideal for a chaste, modest, obedient woman was being challenged by a rising need to display wealth and status. The simplistic ideal of *cultus*, *ornatus*, and *munditia* of women became an extravagant competition amongst wealthy *matronae* in particular. As the *lex Oppia* indicates, conspicuous consumption took form in the display of *versicolor* clothing, gold utensils and jewellery, and the use of carriages. However, different forms of self-presentation were used to convey conspicuous consumption, such as specific garments used only by wealthy *matronae*, fabrics like Egyptian linen, expensive dyes, jewellery made of gold and pearls, expensive, time-consuming cosmetic rituals, and elaborate hairstyles. A woman not only had to match her husband's and/or father's social standing through her behaviour and appearance, but the males could also display their own wealth, status and generosity through the conspicuous consumption of a woman. The woman and the house were both an extension of the *paterfamilias*, effectively paralleling the woman and the house, so the manner of conspicuous status display by the woman

can be used as an analogy for understanding displays of conspicuous consumption in the Roman house.

4 THE ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Modern conspicuous consumption, particularly the display within houses has been determined, to an extent, by the use of scales and questionnaires.¹ As these methods can obviously not be used for the ancient world, studying conspicuous consumption in the house will be carried out using the analogy of the clothing and adornment of women and the structure and decoration of the house. The most basic medium for women to display conspicuous consumption was clothing, as the structure of the house was the most basic medium to display conspicuous consumption in the domestic space. Both functioned as a source of protection and extra elements, such as insignia or rooms, could be added for conspicuous purposes. For example, women had basic clothing pieces, however wealthy women were entitled to extra garments and insignia. With these extras came the opportunity for extra conspicuous display. Similarly, the *domus* had a basic structure and only the wealthy could afford adding extra rooms, and with these extra rooms came the opportunity for additional conspicuous display.

As the structure of the house will be analysed as if it were women's clothing, parameters for the basic layout of the house need to be established to indicate how those displaying conspicuous consumption deviate from the basic plan. The basic "Etruscan" *atrium domus* and *peristylum domus* ("peristyle house") will be discussed in order to identify variations in layout that indicate conspicuous consumption. As conspicuous consumption is a phenomenon that all social classes took part in, and as it was easy to identify conspicuous consumption between an upper-class and lower-

¹ See Souiden *et al.* (2011: 329-343) for a questionnaire to measure conspicuous consumption. Bergman (2010: 1-56) looks at the reasons behind conspicuous consumption and the effects they have on consumers. Belk (1984: 291-297) measured and tested aspects of materialism (possessiveness, non-generosity, and envy) which influence conspicuous consumption.

class house, as everything would be considered extravagant, it is necessary to compare houses in the same social strata to identify conspicuous consumption amongst the wealthy. The House of the Faun will then be discussed in terms of the parameters and compared to an “average” extravagant house to indicate why it was considered conspicuous even amongst the wealthy.²

4.2 PARAMETERS FOR MEASURING CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE DOMUS

4.2.1 The *Atrium* and *Peristylum Domus*

The *atrium domus*, also called the *patrician domus*, of the early third century BCE, based on the Etruscan *atrium* house, only had an *atrium* surrounded with a few small rooms and a small, enclosed garden (Figure 4.1).³ This type of house was considered a basic Roman layout with a *fauces* (“narrow entryway”) leading into the *atrium* with an *impluvium*.⁴ Upon entering the *atrium*, there were *cubicula* and *alae* (“open rooms/nooks”) on either side, with the *tablinum* opposite the *fauces*. The *hortus* (“a garden”) was directly behind the *tablinum*.⁵ Only the most elite of houses had slave quarters and service areas which were either at the back of the house or concealed with a service corridor.⁶

During the late third and early second century BCE, the *peristylum* was added to the *atrium domus*, based on the Hellenistic Greek peristyle house (Figure 4.2).⁷ The double cultural origin of this typical Roman house is indicated in the room names.

² As villas and farms focused more on the agricultural aspect and the house layout was vastly different from the typical residential house, they will not be discussed. See Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.6.1-7) and Ellis (2000: 13) for more on villas and farms. Based on Vitruvius’s (*De arch.*) and Wallace-Hadrill’s findings. The recommendations that Vitruvius makes in *De architectura* are for houses of the wealthy (Boëthius, 1978: 184).

³ A glossary of Latin terms can be found in Addendum A.

⁴ Clarke, 1991: 2. Also see Boëthius (1978: 185).

⁵ Clarke, 1991: 4. Also see Boëthius (1934: 160).

⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 39.

⁷ Boëthius, 1978: 187

Latin words indicate the front part of the house: *atrium*, *fauces*, *ala*, *tablinum*; whereas *peristylum*, *triclinium*, *oecus*, *exedra* are Greek. Vitruvius identified five types of *atria*, based on how the roof was constructed: Tuscan, Corinthian, tetrastyle, testudinate, and displuviate *atria* (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.3.1). The Corinthian, Tuscan and tetrastyle *atria* were popular in Pompeian housing.⁸ The Tuscan and tetrastyle *atria* were essentially the same with an inward sloping roof, except that the tetrastyle *atrium* had four columns, one at each corner of the *impluvium*, to support the roof.⁹

The House of the Figured Capitals (VII.4.57)¹⁰ (Figure 4.3) is a good example of the basic *peristylum domus* as described by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.3-8) and illustrated by Mau.¹¹ The basic layout remained the same as the *atrium domus*, with an added *triclinium* or *oecus*, a *peristylum*, some rooms of the *peristylum* and rarely an *exedra*. The House of the Figured Capitals follows this pattern with a *triclinium* next to the *tablinum* that opens onto the *peristylum*. This *peristylum* only has three sides of colonnades and no *exedra* but has three small rooms in the south-east corner of the *peristylum*. The main difference between the *peristylum domus* and the “Etruscan” *atrium domus* was the added *triclinium*, *oecus*, and *peristylum*; the other rooms essentially remained the same.

4.2.2 Proportions of Rooms in the *Domus*

Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.3-8) specifies basic proportions of the most important rooms in any house (*atrium*, *ala*, *tablinum*, *fauces*, *peristylum*, *triclinium*, *oecus*) in relation to each other. A *peristylum domus* should have at least one of each of these important rooms. Anything bigger than the proportion or quantity Vitruvius specifies, will be considered to be conspicuous. He also stated that aristocrats who had many social responsibilities needed spacious, “regal-style” *atria*, *peristylia*, *bybliothecae*

⁸ Mau, 1899: 244. Also see Lake (1937: 598).

⁹ Mau, 1899: 245.

¹⁰ The House of Figured Capitals is 870 m² and is located directly opposite the back of the House of the Faun.

¹¹ Mau, 1899: 241.

("libraries"), *pinacothecae* ("picture galleries"), and basilicas (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.2).¹² Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.4.1-2) also specifies the preferable sun exposures for rooms, including the *triclinium*. He speaks about winter, summer, spring and autumn *triclinium*. However, he does not specify that all four types should be present or how many *triclinia* should at least be in a typical house. The volume and proportions of the public spaces create a "regal" atmosphere (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.2). Wallace-Hadrill interprets scale, following Vitruvius, as being an important distinction between public and private spaces.¹³

Another significant feature, besides scale, was the Hellenisation of private spaces, in other words, the conversion of elements reserved for Greek public, religious and palace architecture into Roman domestic spaces.¹⁴ A public atmosphere was created through large, spacious areas and Hellenised architectural elements within the domestic space.¹⁵ The following aspects all suggest Greek public elements used within the wealthy Roman *peristylum domus*. The term and the concept of the *peristylum* originated from Greek public architecture, like the gymnasium.¹⁶ The gymnasium was the symbol and the centre of the Hellenistic city.¹⁷ Elements taken from the Greek gymnasium included the rectangular shape created by colonnades (rows of columns)¹⁸ that also formed a *stoa* ("covered portico").¹⁹ Small pools and marble statues were also adopted in the Roman *peristylum* to create a feeling of the Greek gymnasium.²⁰ The most significant element taken from Greek public and religious architecture was the marble column. It was considered a sign of extravagance because of its Greek public and sacred connotation.²¹ Within the

¹² The sizes or number of *cubicula* needed in a house was not mentioned by Vitruvius, probably as it was the most basic of rooms found in houses of all social classes.

¹³ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 17.

¹⁴ Hales, 2003: 208. Also see Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 17).

¹⁵ Hales, 2003: 229. See Carpenter (1970: 120-184) on the use of *propylon* ("monumental entrance") in Hellenistic religious and gymnasium architecture.

¹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 20. Also see Boëthius (1978: 187).

¹⁷ Chamoux, 2002: 121. Also see Zarmakoupi (2011: 53).

¹⁸ Chamoux, 2002: 274.

¹⁹ Chamoux, 2002: 271.

²⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 21.

²¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 20.

Roman domestic context, columns were most often found in *peristylia* and *atria*, both being public reception areas.²² It was rare to find columns within a room, as they were used only in the grandest of houses,²³ and this was called the “Corinthian *oecus*” (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.3.9).²⁴ The presence of columns in a house had the ability to create a prominent, lavish and monumental space.²⁵

Of Wallace-Hadrill’s “four types” of houses,²⁶ Type 4 includes the elitist, most luxurious houses, not necessarily all of equal standing. Sixty-four percent of the sample had an *atrium* and a *peristylum*. Houses larger than 1 000 m² sometimes had either a second *atrium* or *peristylum*. These larger houses also had a great number of ground floor rooms (20-56), indicating households with a lot of slaves.²⁷ *Peristylia* are 3% more common than *atria* amongst Type 4 houses, and a third of these houses have at least one four-sided colonnade. Wallace-Hadrill also found that decorative gardens, including the *peristylum*, were less common than *atria*. The more colonnades present in a house, the larger the house tended to be. The average house had one to three colonnades (single-row colonnades are commonly found), whereas the more lavish houses tend to have a full four-sided colonnade. There is a clear parallel between the number of *atria* and *peristylum* and the size of a house.²⁸ The following can then be considered as conspicuousness of extra insignia in the *domus*; more than one *atrium*, one or more four-sided *peristylia*, multiple *triclinia*, an *exedra*, and a large domestic section. These parameters will also be used to identify conspicuous consumption in the House of the Faun.

²² Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 21.

²³ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 22.

²⁴ Vitr. (*De arch.* 6.3.9-10) for more on the Corinthian, Egyptian, and Cyzicene *oeci*.

²⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 22.

²⁶ Type 1: This group included workshops or shops with at least one room (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 80). Type 2: Houses in this group had an irregular floorplan, with two to seven rooms and often included shops (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 80). Type 3: “Typical” Pompeian house, symmetrical floor plan, 28% have an atrium and colonnaded garden, and have an average of eight rooms (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 82).

²⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 82. Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 71) considered a room to be an enclosed space with a door or entryway.

²⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 86.

4.2.3 Social Interaction Levels within the *Domus*

The concept of privacy as we understand it today was interpreted differently in the *domus*.²⁹ The privacy, or intimacy,³⁰ of a room depended on the relative publicness of other rooms in the *domus*.³¹ There were varying degrees of public and private spaces.³² For example, the *triclinium* was more private compared to the *atrium*, however the *cubiculum* was more private than the *triclinium*.³³ According to Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.1) the privacy of a space depended on invitation. Spaces such as the entranceway, *atrium*, and garden, were open to almost anyone without needing an invitation, which made these spaces more public, or according to Clarke “dynamic”. Non-residents had to be granted permission or be invited into certain spaces, and hence they were considered to be more private, “static”, or exclusive.³⁴ These included bedrooms, bathrooms, and dining rooms (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1). Instead of trying to distinguish between public and private, this study will consider the amount of interaction taking place in a space, creating a sliding scale of public and private. Spaces that had high levels of interaction and were open to anyone, no invitation needed, included the *fauces*, *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *peristylum* (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1). Spaces with high social interaction but which could only be entered by invitation, included the *triclinium* and *exedra*. Static spaces with low interaction levels and which could also only be entered by invitation are rooms like *cubicula* and bathrooms.³⁵ The level of interaction and exclusiveness gave symbolic meaning to objects and therefore influenced the amount of conspicuous consumption that was displayed.

According to the above-mentioned aspects, the House of the Figured Capitals is a good representation of the basic peristyle house and can be compared to the House

²⁹ Russell, 2001: 9.

³⁰ Clarke, 2003: 222.

³¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 17.

³² Russell, 2001: 9.

³³ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 17.

³⁴ Clarke, 2003: 222.

³⁵ See section 1.3 for symbolic interaction theory, conspicuous consumption and axis of differentiation.

of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9) which is an atypical *peristylum domus*, exhibiting some deviation from the typical *peristylum domus* parameters which indicates some conspicuous consumption (Figure 4.4).³⁶ These houses will be used as the foundation principle to indicate possible conspicuous consumption within the House of the Faun (Figure 4.5). The layout of the House of the Figured Capitals can be considered as basic clothing like the tunic. The House of the Labyrinth started displaying extra insignia with extra rooms like the multiple *triclinia*, which can be paralleled with the *palla* of wealthy women. These extra garments and rooms presented the opportunity for extra conspicuous display, which will be identified in the House of the Faun.

4.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN

The structure of the House of the Faun was built in three stages according to Faber & Hoffmann (Figure 4.7). The first phase (CdF1)³⁷ of the house was built during the first half of the second century BCE, c. 180 BCE, and had two *atria* and only one *peristylum*. The smaller *atrium* was Tuscan style with no street entrance and was connected to the larger *atrium* through an *ala*. The second *peristylum* and *exedra* with the Alexander mosaic was not yet present in the first phase.³⁸ Drainage, water supply, and latrines were increased with the c. 150 to 125 BCE renovations.³⁹

A great deal of the first house was changed during the second stage (CdF2) of building around the end of the second century, c. 110 to 75 BCE. During this phase, the majority of the house was decorated in the First style.⁴⁰ An *impluvium*, with limestone edges, was added to the larger Tuscan *atrium*. The smaller *atrium* was converted to a tetrastyle *atrium* with four columns at each corner of the *impluvium*. In addition, a street entrance and corridor were added. The Doric *peristylum* from

³⁶ The House of the Labyrinth is 1 869 m² and is located directly opposite the House of the Faun.

³⁷ The three stages were labeled as CdF1 (*Casa del Fauno* phase 1), CdF2 (*Casa del Fauno* phase 2), CdF3 (*Casa del Fauno* phase 3) (Hoffmann & Faber, 2009).

³⁸ Hoffmann & Faber, 2009: 104.

³⁹ Hoffmann, 2009: 38.

⁴⁰ Hoffmann & Faber, 2009: 107. The four styles of Mau will be discussed in Chapter 5.

the first phase was modified in the Ionic order, but some Doric elements were kept.⁴¹ The second *peristylum*, in Doric order, and the *exedra* were added during the second phase.⁴² The House of the Faun became one of the first houses in Campania with a private bath during the 50 to 20 BCE renovations. A *hypocaust* (“underfloor heating system”) was built into the service area.⁴³ A second storey was built over the tetrastyle atrium during the third phase (CdF3).⁴⁴

The rooms in the House of the Faun will be discussed according to the parameters established and a sliding scale of public and private. Thus, rooms will be discussed starting from rooms with the most interaction and no invitation required, to rooms with the least interaction and an invitation required, explaining the rituals and functions of rooms in order to indicate interaction. The amount of interaction will then indicate the amount of conspicuous consumption displayed in each room, if any (Figure 4.8).⁴⁵ ADDENDUM F: Foldout floorplan, House of the Faun provides a detailed and numbered floorplan that can be used for reference for Chapters 4 to 7.

4.3.1 *Vestibulum and Fauces*

The space between the street and the front door was known as the *vestibulum*, meaning “to stand aside”, which indicates the purpose. One could therefore step into the *vestibulum* to get away from the busy street. Welcome or warning messages were often on the floor of the *vestibulum*.⁴⁶ Immediately after walking through the front door, one walked into a narrow passageway called the *fauces*. Visitors and residents alike would enter the house through the *fauces*, thus there was a constant

⁴¹ Being the simplest order, the Doric columns were plain, short and heavy with simple, round capitals and no base. The Ionic order had fluted, thinner columns with a large base and decorated capitals. Lastly, the Corinthian order had ornately decorated capitals of scrolls and leaves (Vitr. *De arch.* 4.1.1-12).

⁴² Dwyer, 2001: 329.

⁴³ Hoffmann & Faber, 2009: 108. See Forbes (1966: 36-43) for more on the Roman hypocaust system.

⁴⁴ Hoffmann, 2009: 47. Also see George (2011: 2).

⁴⁵ Figure 4.8 contains self-assigned room numbers for the House of the Faun. The room numbers will be referred to when discussing the rooms.

⁴⁶ Clarke, 2003: 250. Also see Petron. (*Sat.* 29).

flow of people through this area.⁴⁷ The size of the *fauces* varied according to the size of the *atrium*.⁴⁸

The *vestibulum* of the House of the Faun (VI.12.2) was located in-between small shops (VI.12.1 and VI.12.3) and has the word *HAVE*, meaning welcome, written in coloured marble.⁴⁹ The *vestibulum* leads into the *fauces* (Room 1, Figure 4.9) and, as Vitruvius prescribed, the width of this *fauces* is half the width of the *tablinum* (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.3.6). Tufa shelves on either side of the *fauces* originally held *lararia*.⁵⁰ The House of the Faun has two *fauces*, like the House of the Labyrinth, however unlike the House of the Labyrinth, they are much larger and higher and include a *vestibulum*.

4.3.2 Atrium

After walking through the *fauces*, one walks into the *atrium*, a large courtyard-like structure surrounded by smaller rooms. The *atrium* was rarely completely covered by a roof, as the roof had a rectangular opening called the *compluvium*. The *compluvium* originally served as a type of chimney and the smoke from the hearth turned the ceiling black, hence the word *atrium* that was derived from *ater* (“black”).⁵¹ When the hearth was later moved to the kitchen area, the *compluvium* served to direct rainwater into the *impluvium*, a basin in the floor of the *atrium*.⁵² The *impluvium* covered an underground cistern and the water collected was mostly used for cleaning (Figure 4.10).⁵³ It was quite common to place a table at the end of the *impluvium* with bronze containers representing the hearth.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Clarke, 1991: 4.

⁴⁸ Mau, 1899: 242. Also see Vitr. (*De arch.* 6.3.6).

⁴⁹ McKay, 1975: 43. Today, one cannot enter the house through either *fauces* (VI.12.2, VI.12.5), so an entrance was created through the shop (VI.12.1) to enter the House of the Faun.

⁵⁰ McKay, 1975: 21.

⁵¹ Mau, 1899: 247.

⁵² Mau, 1899: 248.

⁵³ Whiton, 1974: 39.

⁵⁴ Mau, 1899: 248.

What makes this space so important are the rituals and the amount of interaction that took place here, mainly between the *paterfamilias* and his *clientes*. Receiving of daily visitors was called the *salutatio* and was the most important ritual within the *domus* of the wealthy.⁵⁵ The *paterfamilias* would receive his *clientes* in the *atrium* and *tablinum*.⁵⁶ The *atrium*, being so public, was a perfect place to display images of the family's ancestors, together with performing public family rituals that included prayer and sacrifices to the gods.⁵⁷ Numerous houses show evidence of *lararia* for the *lares*, *penates* and the *genius*.⁵⁸

Another ritual performed in the atrium was the coming of age ceremony for a young man. A boy would offer his "amulet" to the *lares* after which he would clothe himself in a white toga that symbolised manhood, and dedicate his beard to the *lares*.⁵⁹ A girl could only perform her coming of age ritual before her wedding night, when she would offer her dolls and other symbols of her innocence at the *lararium*.⁶⁰ Other rituals performed at the *lararium* in the *atrium* included marriage rites, announcing the birth of a child, naming of a child, birthday celebrations, mourning and rituals after someone's death.⁶¹ Various family rituals and public activities such as the *salutatio* were performed in the *atrium*. Therefore, there was a constant movement of people and interaction between family members, slaves, and *clientes*, thus this area had high levels of resident-stranger and resident-resident interaction.

Typical houses, like the House of the Figured Capitals, only had one *atrium*. Elite *peristylum* houses often had two *atria*, as seen in the House of the Faun and House of the Labyrinth. Both these houses had a Tuscan *atrium* and a tetrastyle *atrium*. The House of the Labyrinth had a smaller Tuscan *atrium* that led to the domestic area of the house, and the larger tetrastyle *atrium* was more public and opened into the

⁵⁵ Laurence, 1996: 108.

⁵⁶ Clarke, 1991: 4.

⁵⁷ Clarke, 1991: 6.

⁵⁸ Robinson, 2002: 97.

⁵⁹ Brucia & Daugherty, 2007: 18.

⁶⁰ Brucia & Daugherty, 2007: 12.

⁶¹ Clarke, 1991: 10. Also see Brucia & Daugherty (2007: 17-20) on birth rites, puberty rites, marriage rites.

tablinum and *alae*. In the House of the Faun, the bigger *atrium* was Tuscan, in other words with an inward-sloping roof and without columns around the *impluvium* (Room 2).⁶² The Tuscan *atrium* opened into the *tablinum*, with a view of the *peristylum* garden (Figure 4.11). This *atrium* also extended into two *alae*.⁶³

The entrance to the domestic part of the House of the Faun was also located in the street, with a longer, narrower *fauces* leading into the smaller *tetrastyle atrium* (Room 39). This *atrium* had four Corinthian columns surrounding the *impluvium* (Figure 4.12).⁶⁴ This *atrium* was connected to the kitchen, bathroom, and *cubicula* by a narrow hallway. The *tetrastyle atrium* led to the domestic space of the house and was therefore smaller and had no *tablinum* to receive *clientes*. Wallace-Hadrill also argues that a secondary *atrium* was used by the residents only.⁶⁵ The function of the surrounding rooms of the *tetrastyle atrium* is still unclear.⁶⁶ As this *atrium* is connected to the service areas and does not have a *tablinum*, it is possible that these rooms were *cubicula* for family members that had less resident-stranger interaction. It is less likely that this section was reserved for women and children, as would have been found in Hellenistic counterparts.

The *atrium* probably had the highest level of interaction between people, where no invitation was needed to enter the space, increasing the opportunity for more conspicuous consumption to be displayed. The *atrium* in the House of the Faun was of imposing size to impress visitors of all social classes, as specified by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.1.). Even the smallest *atrium* in the House of the Faun was bigger than the biggest *atrium* in the House of the Labyrinth.

⁶² Richardson, 1988: 116.

⁶³ Personal observations of House of the Faun, Pompeii.

⁶⁴ Richardson, 1988: 117.

⁶⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 2009: 285.

⁶⁶ Richardson, 1988: 117.

4.3.3 *Tablinum*

The *atrium* opens into the *tablinum*, where the *paterfamilias* received his *clientes*. This room was used as an office or study and was also thought of as the master “bedroom”, hence, the *lectus adversus* (“the bed of the master”) was placed in this room.⁶⁷ Family records and finances were also stored in the *tablinum*.⁶⁸ In Pompeian houses, the *tablinum* did not comply with the proportions as set forth by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.5) since they were higher and narrower than the standard Roman *tablinum*, as seen in the House of the Labyrinth.⁶⁹ Mock pilasters were placed at the entrance of the *tablinum*, with curtains that could be opened or closed when needed. Fastenings were attached to the mock pilasters to hold the curtains open.⁷⁰ As the rear wall was nearly completely open, it was often equipped with a folding door, especially for winter.⁷¹

The *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis was already visible in the basic *atrium domus*, but only became prominent in the *peristylum domus*.⁷² The *clientes* would enter through the *fauces*, directly opposite the *tablinum*, where the *paterfamilias* would be waiting. The narrow *fauces* created a frame of sorts, focusing the viewer’s gaze on the *tablinum*, where wall paintings and columns surrounding the *tablinum* created a second frame. The window behind the *tablinum* created a third window looking through to the *peristylum*. The view extended through the *peristylum* to create a spectacular view from the entrance and became an important aspect in portraying social status (Figure 4.13). Also, the *paterfamilias* could, from his position in the *tablinum*, control the boundaries within the house.⁷³

The House of the Faun displays the ideal *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis with the *tablinum* directly opposite the *fauces* (Room 8), immediately establishing the level of

⁶⁷ Mau, 1899: 251.

⁶⁸ McKay, 1975: 33.

⁶⁹ Mau, 1899: 250.

⁷⁰ Mau, 1899: 250.

⁷¹ McKay, 1975: 34. Such a folding door was found in the House of the Folding Door, Herculaneum.

⁷² Clarke, 1991: 4.

⁷³ Clarke, 1991: 6.

social status of the *paterfamilias*.⁷⁴ The room is relatively large in relation to the atrium; it is about two thirds of the *atrium* width, close to what Vitruvius suggested for the *tablinum* size. The bottom sections of two fluted pilasters at the entrance and a section of the rear wall opening is still visible (Figure 4.14).⁷⁵ However, although practically the same in every other respect, the *tablinum* in the House of the Faun is somewhat larger than the *tablinum* of the House of the Labyrinth.

4.3.4 *Peristylum*

Gardens were an integral part of the Roman *domus*. Vesuvius preserved about 626 gardens in the Campanian area.⁷⁶ Small *atrium* houses ordinarily had a *hortus* at the back of the house.⁷⁷ The *hortus* was usually associated with agricultural activities.⁷⁸ Pleasure gardens later became popular amongst the wealthy.⁷⁹ *Atrium* houses later included a decorative garden surround by columns, based on the Hellenistic *peristylum*. Larger *atrium* houses had at least one *peristylum* garden, and at times an extra garden not in *peristylum* form.⁸⁰

Roman gardens were created inside the house, whether decorative or agricultural. However, not every house was equipped with its own decorative garden in *peristylum* form, as this was a commodity for the wealthy.⁸¹ A typical house only had one *peristylum* and it was rare to find a *peristylum* colonnaded on all four sides.⁸² The *peristylum* was a common area and one did not need an invitation to enter according to Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.1.). However, considering that the *peristylum*

⁷⁴ McKay, 1975: 33. In the House of the Faun, the *tablinum* was opposite the *fauces* found in the Tuscan *atrium*, and in the House of the Labyrinth the *tablinum* was in the tetrastyle *atrium*.

⁷⁵ Personal observation of House of the Faun, Pompeii.

⁷⁶ Jashemski, 2009: 487. "When the plants and trees growing at the time of the eruption died, their roots decayed, and the volcanic debris that covered the site gradually filled the cavities. During excavation, all the lapilli is removed until the level of the garden in AD79 is reached. At this point the lapilli-filled cavities are clearly visible. It is then possible with special tools to empty the cavities, reinforce them with heavy wire and fill them with cement. When the cement has hardened, the soil is removed from around the cast to reveal the shape of the ancient root" (Jashemski, 2009: 489).

⁷⁷ Jashemski, 1993: 16.

⁷⁸ Bannon, 2009: 9. Also see Semple (1929: 435).

⁷⁹ Semple, 1929: 436.

⁸⁰ Jashemski, 1993: 22.

⁸¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 21.

⁸² Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 84.

was behind the *tablinum*, where the *paterfamilias* controlled entry to the rest of the house, it could be said that the *peristylum* had some restrictions on who could enter but was not as limited as with the *triclinium*. Even if it had some limitations it had higher interaction levels than the *triclinium* but less than the *atrium* and the need for lavish display was high.

Two of the largest gardens not in *peristylum* form were the House of Octavius Quartio (II.2.2) and the House of Julia Felix. The House of Octavius Quartio had a garden almost two thirds bigger than the house, with two canals in the garden. The House of Julia Felix had two non-*peristylum* gardens one with a canal and the second garden was used as a fruit and vegetable garden. The House of the Silver Wedding (V.2.i) had a small *peristylum* and two gardens with pools on either side of the house. Rarely houses had more than one colonnaded garden *peristylum*. The House of the Citharist (I.4.5) had three small *peristylia* throughout the house.⁸³ The middle *peristylum* contained a pool with bronze statues. The House of the Dioscuri (VI.9.6) had two *peristylia*, one had a large pool and a small basin. The House of the Coloured Capitals (VII.4.31) also had two *peristylia*, the first one containing a fishpond.⁸⁴

The two *peristylia* in the House of the Faun represented Hellenistic-inspired gymnasium elements (Room 14, 20),⁸⁵ such as the rectangular shape created by colonnades, the marble statues, and the columns. These elements were considered a sign of extravagance because of their Greek public and sacred connotation.⁸⁶ The first *peristylum* filled three-quarters of the *insula's* width and was the most important part of the design as it was part of the first phase (CdF1) of the House of the Faun and it determined the dimensions and location of rooms built during the second phase (CdF2) of the house (Figure 4.15).⁸⁷ A broad *stoa* was formed by the 28 columns with a smaller decorative garden in the centre.

⁸³ Jashemski, 1993: 21.

⁸⁴ See Addendum D for a summary on the garden and water features of these houses.

⁸⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 2009: 286.

⁸⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 20.

⁸⁷ Hoffmann & Faber, 2009: 107. Also see Dwyer (2001: 332). The *peristylum* in the House of the Labyrinth had 30 columns.

The second *peristylum* in the House of the Faun was almost half the length and the complete width of the *insula*, and with 44 columns, significantly bigger than the one in the House of the Labyrinth (Figure 4.16). A very large garden was formed in the centre of the *peristylum*, also with a broad *stoa* on all four sides. The Doric columns in the second *peristylum* were made of brick, with tufa capitals, and were possibly two storeys high.⁸⁸ Against the rear wall of the *peristylum* there were at least two *lararium* niches (Figure 4.17).⁸⁹ These two large, extravagant *peristylia* transformed the House of the Faun from a mere domestic structure to a structure in the image of a Hellenistic gymnasium or royal palace.⁹⁰

Rooms that were considered to be more private, “static”, or exclusive,⁹¹ with entry by invitation only included the *triclinium*, *exedra*, *ala*, *cubiculum*, bathrooms and similar areas (such as service areas, which included the kitchen) (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1).⁹²

4.3.5 *Triclinium*

With adopting and embracing the Greek custom of reclining at the table on couches, Pompeians also adopted the *triclinium* that was used for dining.⁹³ *Triclinia* were usually located on either side of the *tablinum*. In bigger, more conspicuous houses there could be up to four *triclinia*, one for each season.⁹⁴ Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.1) classifies the *triclinium* as private and a person could only enter with an invitation. The *convivium* (“banquet”) was often held in the *triclinium*, and high-ranking guests, such as magistrates, were invited to attend. Embracing these Greek aspects indicated “you had arrived in society: you had the money, servants, and good taste to entertain lavishly in the Greek fashion”.⁹⁵ Therefore, it can be said that high levels of

⁸⁸ McKay, 1975: 43. Several of the column bases are still *in situ*.

⁸⁹ Mau, 1899: 289.

⁹⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, 2009: 287.

⁹¹ Clarke, 2003: 222. Also see Wallace-Hadrill (2009: 283).

⁹² Rooms 19, 21-39 were considered to be part of the domestic part of the house, mainly reserved for residents.

⁹³ Clarke, 2003: 223. The word *triclinium* was also of Greek origin (Mau, 1899: 256).

⁹⁴ Mau, 1899: 260. See Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.4.1) for specifications for each season.

⁹⁵ Clarke, 2003: 223.

interaction took place here only on occasion and only for certain high-ranking status groups of invited guests, which made it very exclusive.⁹⁶ Outdoor, masonry *triclinia* were also highly sought after and not many have been found in Pompeii.⁹⁷

The indoor *triclinium* often opened onto the *peristylum* and could be closed with shutters, similar to the *tablinum*. The Roman *convivium* allowed women to be part of the communal meal, unlike the Greek *symposium*, which was reserved for males.⁹⁸ Musicians and dancers entertained guests while servants served food.⁹⁹ All of these aspects of the *triclinium* and *convivium* were mentioned by Petronius (*Sat.* 30-77). He described a *convivium* in the *triclinium* of Trimalchio's house in great detail, however exaggerated, but the basis of the conspicuous behaviour was described. The conspicuousness of Trimalchio's wife, Fortunata, was depicted in close relation to the elaborate dinnerware (Petron. *Sat.* 67), both seen as part of the extravagant conspicuous lifestyle.

The House of the Faun had four *triclinia* around the first *peristylum*, possibly one for each season (Figure 4.18). The *triclinium* west of the *tablinum* opened onto the *atrium* and the *peristylum* (Room 7), whereas the east *triclinium* only had one entrance (Room 9). According to Mau, the two rooms next to the *exedra* were also *triclinia* (Room 15, 17).¹⁰⁰ The fact that this house had four *triclinia* in a time when banquets were often restricted, makes a very dramatic and conspicuous statement.

4.3.6 *Exedra*

The *exedra* was also used for dinner parties and entertainment, much like the *triclinium*.¹⁰¹ The *exedra* was a large room that opened onto the *peristylum* on at

⁹⁶ Chapter 2 discusses laws such as *lex Orchia* and *lex Antia* that limited banquets and number of guests invited.

⁹⁷ Clarke, 2003: 226.

⁹⁸ Clarke, 2003: 223. Also see Petronius (*Sat.* 67) where women dined with their husbands.

⁹⁹ McKay, 1975: 34.

¹⁰⁰ Mau, 1899: 289. The *triclinia* are in ruinous state, with very little wall and floor decorations having survived.

¹⁰¹ See Richardson (1977: 394-402) for a discussion on how *exedrae* could have functioned as libraries in Pompeian houses.

least one side.¹⁰² The *exedra* (Room 16) of the House of the Faun had two columns in the entranceway and the opposite wall opened on to the second *peristylum* (Figure 4.19). This *exedra* was almost twice the size of any of the *triclinia* in the house, with high walls creating a voluminous “regal” atmosphere, which was needed to display social status according to Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.2). Chicken and fish remains were found in this room, which were probably foods or leftovers from banquets held in this room.¹⁰³ The *exedra* was most often much larger than the *triclinium* and was possibly used for much larger groups or more important guests when a regular *triclinium* was not sufficiently conspicuous in size or other features.

4.3.7 The *Ala*

Atria usually had two open rooms or deep nooks known as *alae*.¹⁰⁴ Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.6) stated that the *ala* was used for displaying ancestral busts and he discusses proportions of the *ala* under principle rooms. However, he does not give a further explanation as to the function of the room.¹⁰⁵ *Alae* were found in most Roman houses and as status symbols, ancestral busts could only be afforded by the wealthiest of Pompeians.¹⁰⁶ Some evidence of woodwork found in *alae* suggests that such rooms had been modified to function as storage units like cupboards.¹⁰⁷

Both *atria* in the House of the Faun had two *alae* each, all in a ruinous state (Figure 4.20). The *alae* in the smaller *atrium* were centred on the sides of the room and the left *ala* created a passage to move between the two *atria* (Room 11, 33).¹⁰⁸ Having four of the same types of room was unnecessarily excessive and highly conspicuous, irrespective of whether these rooms were used to display busts or used as storage.

¹⁰² Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 641. Also see Vitruvius (*De arch.* 2.11.1).

¹⁰³ Hoffmann & Faber, 2009: 107.

¹⁰⁴ Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 637.

¹⁰⁵ Considering the size of these rooms, one would need quite a few busts to create a room for that purpose only.

¹⁰⁶ Cova, 2013: 375.

¹⁰⁷ Cova, 2013: 376.

¹⁰⁸ Own observation at House of the Faun, Pompeii.

Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.1) mentioned that rooms such as the *cubiculum*, bathrooms and service areas, which included the kitchen, were considered private and entry was only allowed with invitation (Figure 4.21).¹⁰⁹

4.3.8 *Cubiculum*

The *cubiculum* is the equivalent to a bedroom, however it differs from the modern sense. These rooms were not used only for sleeping, but as private spaces, for example when the *paterfamilias* wanted to privately entertain important guests.¹¹⁰ The *cubiculum* was considered to be more private and the level of interaction was at a minimum, and for that reason the need for conspicuous display was limited.¹¹¹ A narrow niche was made, and the floor was slightly elevated to indicate the location of the bed.¹¹²

In the House of the Faun, five of the rooms (Room 3-5, 12, 13) surrounding the larger *atrium* were used as *cubicula* (Figure 4.22). According to Mau, floor elevations were found in one of the *cubicula*, which suggests there was space for two beds.¹¹³ At least four rooms surrounding the smaller *atrium* could have been used as *cubicula*. Typical houses, like the House of the Figured Capitals had four *cubicula* at most. Thus, having more than four *cubicula* surrounding both *atria* was highly conspicuous even though the sizes of the rooms were not as large as typical *cubicula*.

4.3.9 *Culina*

Very few houses had a *culina* (“kitchen”) and thus people bought food from *thermopolia*, which were similar to modern take-away restaurants. When a house had a kitchen, they also had slaves¹¹⁴ or skilled cooks.¹¹⁵ The *culina* was usually

¹⁰⁹ Rooms 19, 21-39 were considered to be part of the domestic part of the house, mainly reserved for residents.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, 2014: 350.

¹¹¹ Mau, 1899: 255.

¹¹² Mau, 1899: 256. Art and furniture will be discussed in the following chapters.

¹¹³ Mau, 1899: 285.

¹¹⁴ McKay, 1975: 86.

¹¹⁵ Lowe, 1985: 83.

located in a part of the house so as not to interfere with the rest of the household activities.¹¹⁶ Kitchens were small and dark and did not have sufficient ventilation. Ovens were used for baking and for keeping dishes warm (Figure 4.23).¹¹⁷

The kitchen in the House of the Faun (Room 22) was in the domestic part of the house and was reserved for household staff. The kitchen was not meant to be visible to guests and the level of interaction between guests and staff was almost non-existent. Thus, it was not necessary for conspicuous display. However, this kitchen is at least a third larger than the kitchen in the House of the Labyrinth. The size and the fact that the House of the Faun had a kitchen was nevertheless a display of wealth as it showed that the owners could afford to employ slaves and cooks to prepare homemade meals.¹¹⁸

4.3.10 Bathroom

Similar to not being able to afford a kitchen, most people could not afford a private bath within their house and had to make use of public baths and toilets. Rarely a latrine was situated next to or in the kitchen and consisted of a seat over a drain and was flushed with a bucket of water. Only wealthy Pompeians had a second toilet not located in the kitchen and a *balneum* (“private bath system”) that was located in the domestic part of the house (Figure 4.24).¹¹⁹ Most of the houses that were equipped with a *balneum* only had a *apodyterium* (“changing room”) with a *tepidarium* (“warm bath”), and a *caldarium* (“hot plunge bath”).¹²⁰ The *tepidarium* and *caldarium* in the *balneum* had a *hypocaust* which filled the hollow floors and walls with hot air, both being heated from the kitchen.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Mau, 1899: 260.

¹¹⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 44.

¹¹⁸ This section of the house is unfortunately closed to the public but from what is visible very little evidence survives.

¹¹⁹ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 701.

¹²⁰ De Haan, 2001: 42. See Koloski-Ostrow (2009: 224-256) on the public and private baths in Pompeii and Herculaneum; and De Haan (2001: 41-49) on private baths in Pompeii.

¹²¹ Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 641. Also see Connolly (1990: 64).

This close relationship between the kitchen and bathroom is well represented in the House of the Faun as the kitchen and bath suite are built next to each other (Room 23, 24).¹²² Room 21 was originally a *caldarium*, but was later changed into a wine cellar (Figure 4.25).¹²³ As with the kitchen, having a private bath system within the House of the Faun was a display of wealth.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Just as women started with basic clothing pieces like the tunic and only wealthy women had extra insignia which displayed conspicuous consumption, so too has the *domus* been found to have a basic structure and only the wealthy could afford adding extra rooms which were conspicuous in their display. The “extra insignia” of the *domus* included rooms which displayed excessive wealth with larger sizes, and proportions than other houses. Added rooms were also in the Hellenistic style. The typical wealthy house had a Hellenised *peristylum* with colonnades on four sides, slave quarters, at least a second *atrium* or *peristylum*, and between 20 and 56 rooms. The owners of the House of the Faun not only displayed conspicuous consumption through the mere size of the house, which was already dominating at 2 865 m², but also with all the extra rooms which created additional opportunities to display status and thus high levels of conspicuous consumption. The level of interaction and exclusiveness influenced the amount of conspicuous consumption that was displayed, which can already be observed in the architectural structure of the house. The rooms with the highest levels of social interaction and no exclusivity, such as the *atrium*, *peristylum* and *fauces*, were all doubled in the House of the Faun and of relative large size, especially the *peristylia*. The house had four *triclinia* and an *exedra*, rooms which were very exclusive with high social interaction levels. Even typical rooms were of a conspicuous number. The house also had a private kitchen and

¹²² Mau, 1899: 263.

¹²³ Mau, 1899: 289. As mentioned, the service area of the house is closed to the public, however the hypocaust system can be seen from the second *peristylum*. Rooms 23 and 24, located directly next to the kitchen, were later used as the bathrooms.

private bath system, which was rare even amongst the wealthy. The House of the Faun clearly surpassed the typical structure of even a wealthy house. The architectural structure of the house was very conspicuous and a good indication of the conspicuousness to be found inside the house. The next chapter will focus on how conspicuous consumption was displayed through the “cosmetics” of the house, the art, according to the level of social interaction within these rooms.

4.5 IMAGES OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSE

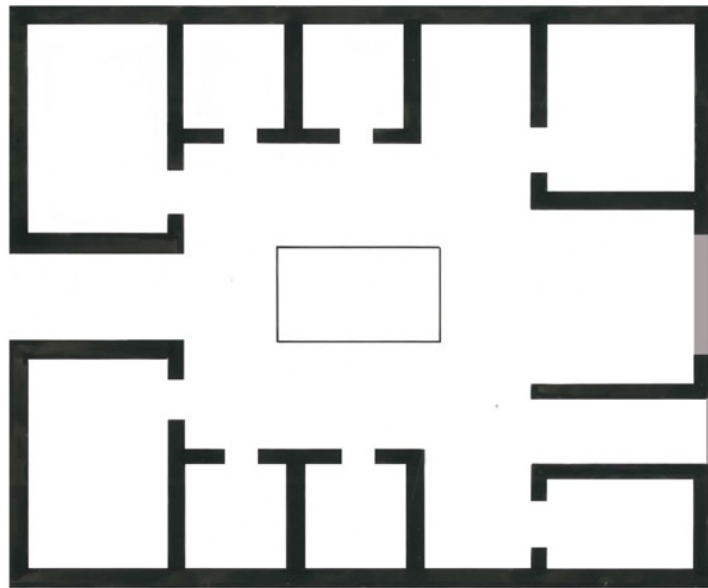


Figure 4.1: The *atrium domus* (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Clarke, 1991: 3)

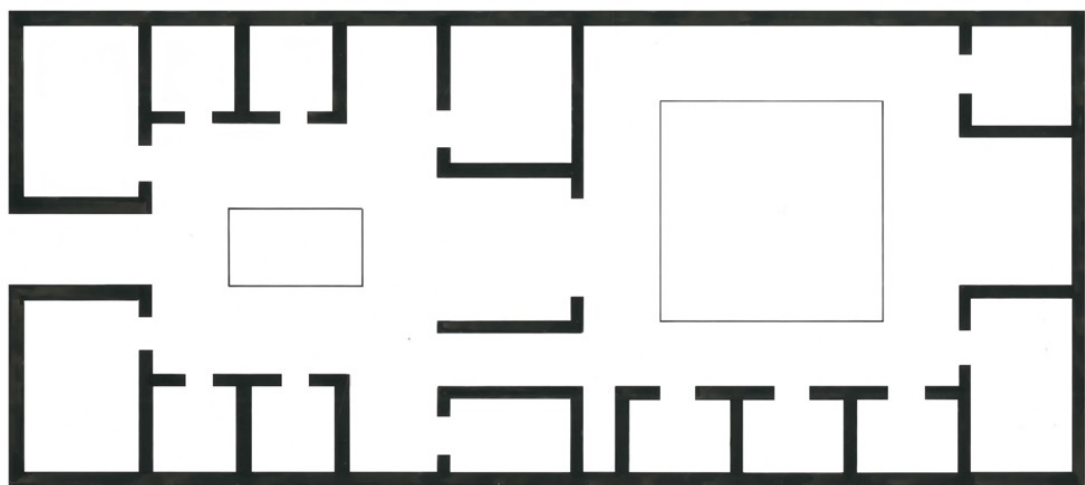


Figure 4.2: The *peristylum domus* (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Mau, 1899: 241)

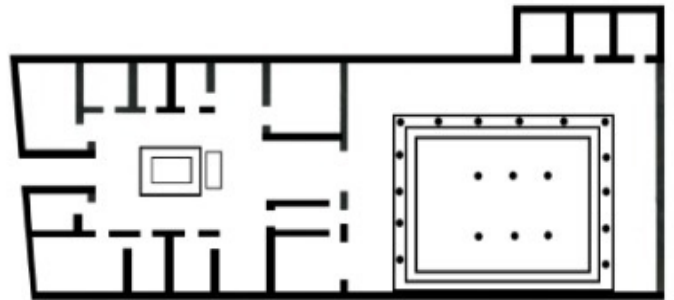


Figure 4.3: The House of the Figured Capitals (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Clements & Clements, 2017: 1)

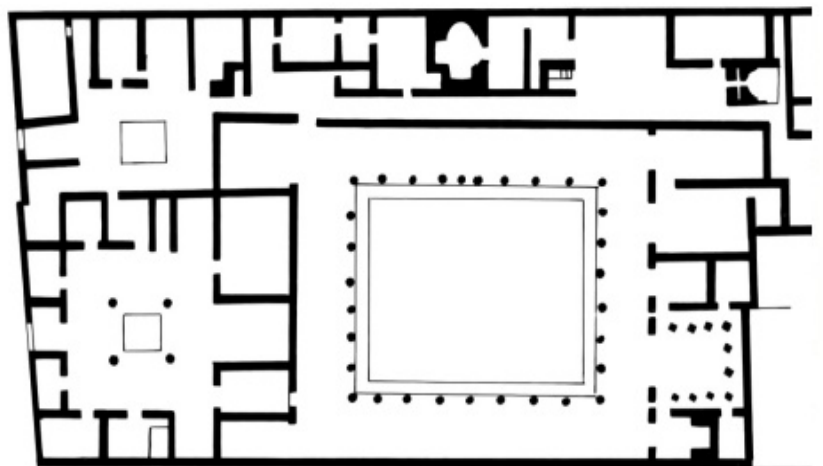


Figure 4.4: The House of the Labyrinth (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Clements & Clements, 2017: 1)

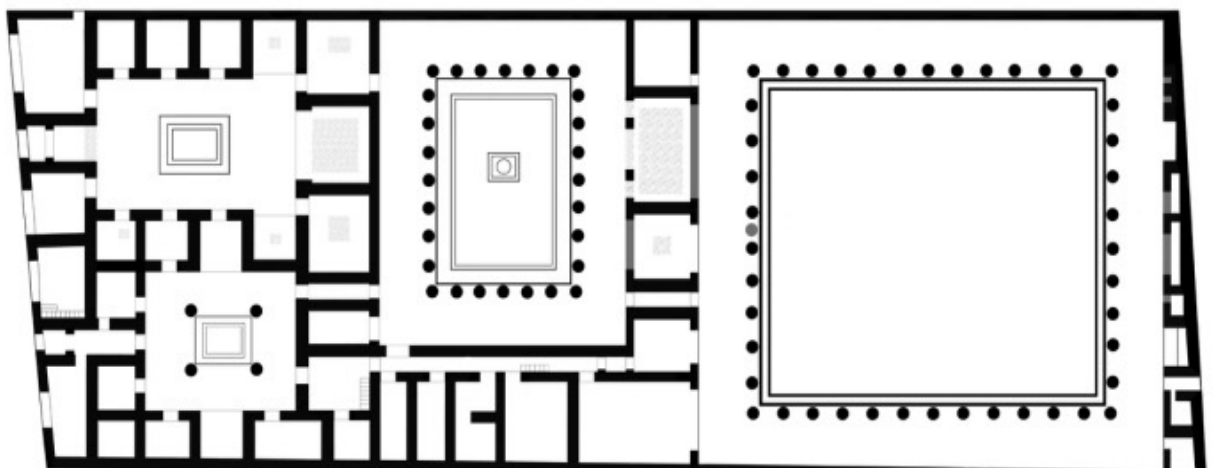


Figure 4.5: The House of the Faun, compared in size to the previous two houses (hand drawn and digitally enhanced) from Zanker (1998: 43) and Hoffmann (2009)



Figure 4.6: Map of Pompeii (Parco Archeologico di Pompei, 2017: 1) and Regio VI, Insula 12 (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Clements & Clements, 2017: 1)

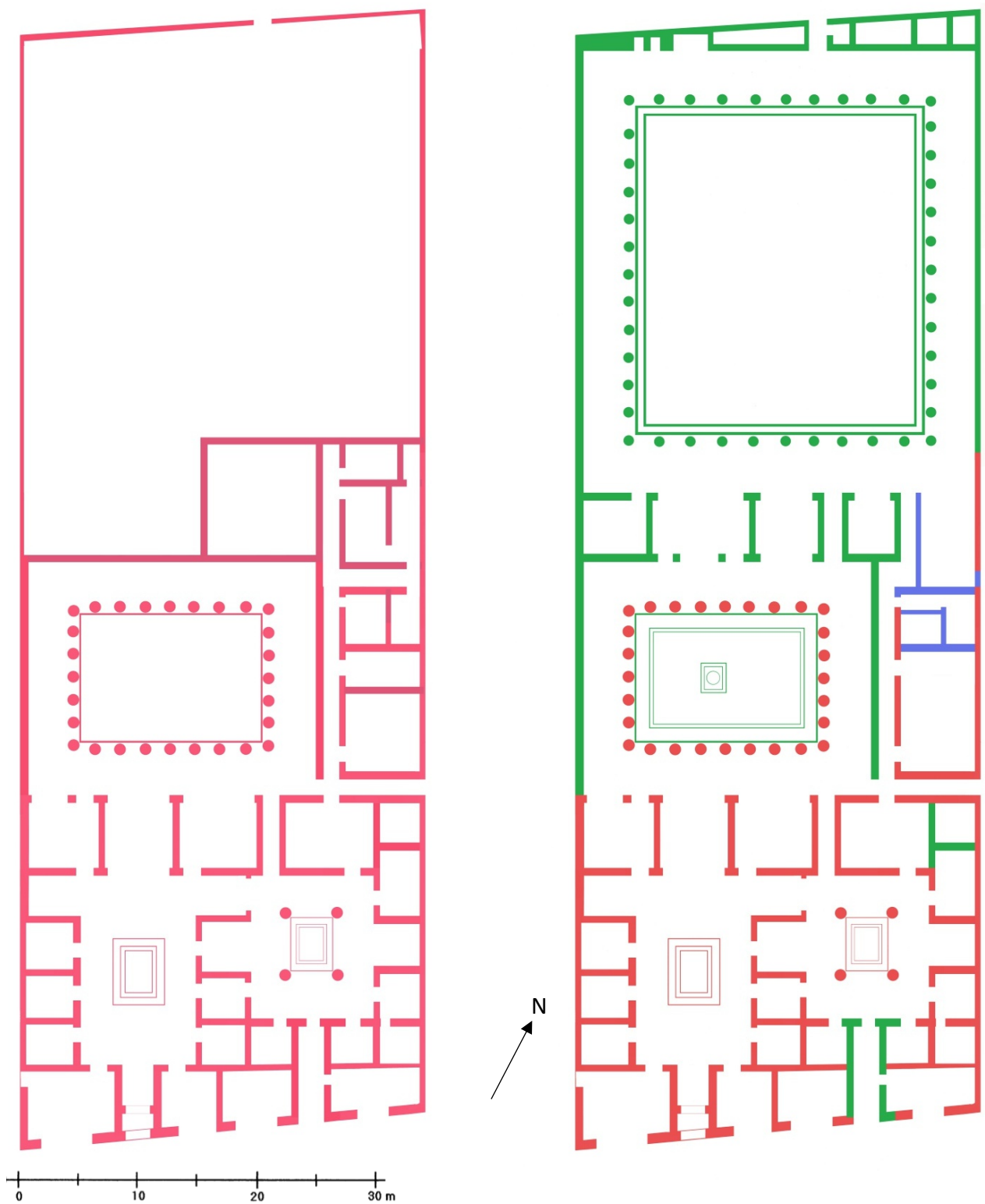


Figure 4.7: Building phases of the House of the Faun (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Hoffmann, 2009: Beilagen 9, 10)

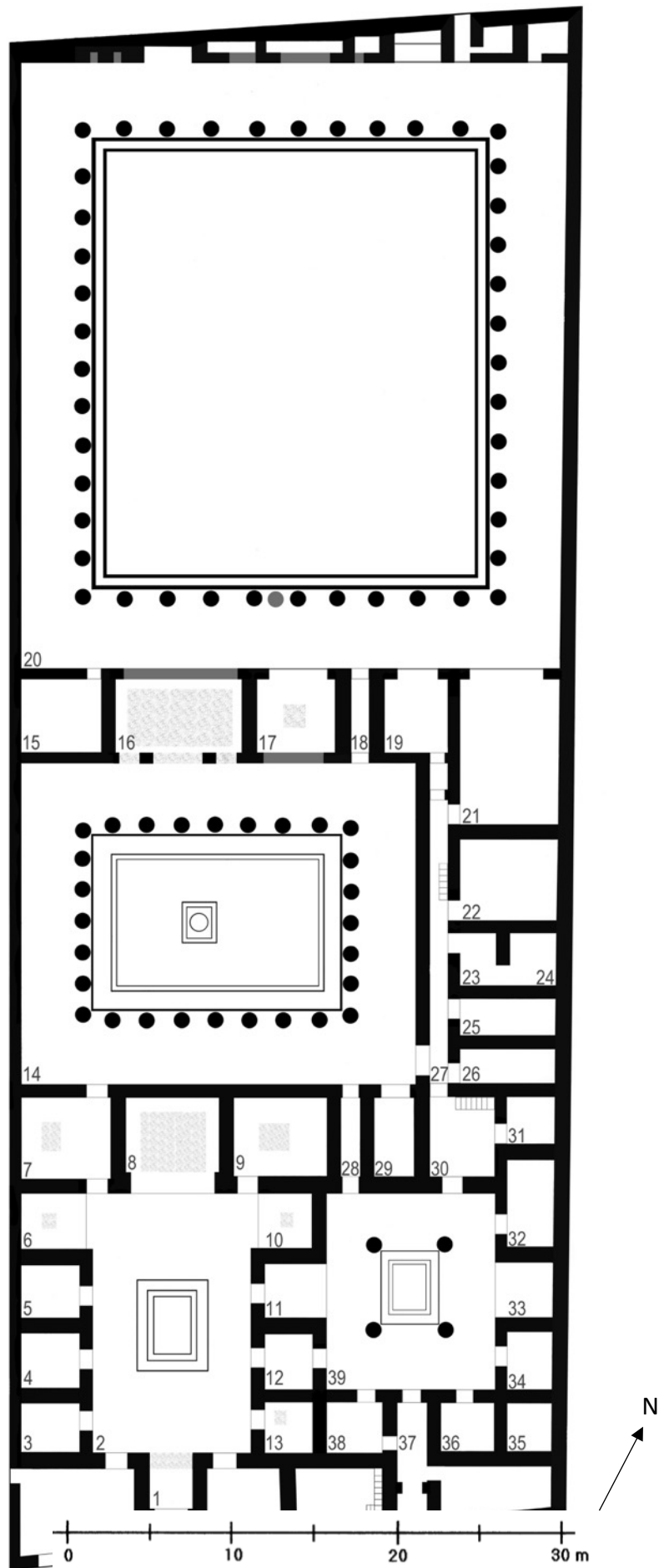


Figure 4.8: The House of the Faun (hand drawn and digitally enhanced from Mau (1899: 282) and Hoffmann (2009: Beilagen 9, 10))



Figure 4.9: The *vestibulum* and *fauces* of the House of the Faun

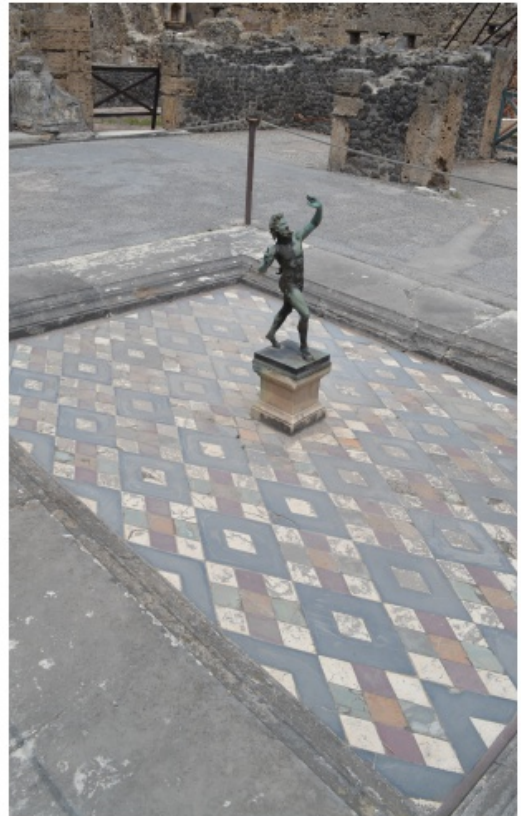


Figure 4.10: The *impluvium* with faun statue in the House of the Faun



Figure 4.11: The Tuscan *atrium* and *impluvium* in the House of the Faun



Figure 4.12: The tetrastyle atrium, a) the *impluvium* and surrounding b) Corinthian columns in the House of the Faun



a



b

Figure 4.13: The *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis seen in a) the House of Menander, and b) the House of the Faun



Figure 4.14: The *tablinum* and remains of the fluted pilasters in the House of the Faun



Figure 4.15: The first *peristylum*, looking toward the *exedra*, in the House of the Faun



Figure 4.16: The second *peristylum*, looking towards Vesuvius, in the House of the Faun



Figure 4.17: Two *lararia* in the second *peristylum* of the House of the Faun



Figure 4.18: The four *triclinia* in the House of the Faun, a) room 7, b) room 9, c) room 15, d) room 17



Figure 4.19: The *exedra* in the House of the Faun, looking towards the first *peristylum*



Figure 4.20: a) room 6, b) looking towards both room 10 and 11, c) room 10, and d) the *ala* leading to the tetrastyle *atrium*, in the House of the Faun



Figure 4.21: The domestic/service areas in the House of the Faun a) service corridor leading to kitchen and bathrooms, b) kitchen, c) *lararium* in kitchen, d) looking towards the tetrastyle *atrium*



a



b

Figure 4.22: Several cubicula in the Tuscan *atrium* in the House of the Faun, a) rooms 3-5, b) room 12-13



a



b

Figure 4.23: *Culina* in the House of the Double Atrium in Herculaneum and b) Fullonica di Stephanus in Pompeii (Parco Archeologico di Pompei, 2017)



a



b

Figure 4.24: Private baths in the House of Menander, a) *impluvium* in *balneum*, b) *tepidarium* and entrance to *caldarium*



Figure 4.25: The hypocaust system of the original *caldarium*, room 21, in the House of the Faun

5 IMMOVABLE DECORATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Having already discussed the physical structure of the house, comparable to a woman's garments, one can now look at how the structure was beautified, like a woman beautified herself with cosmetics. Just as a woman decorated herself, so did the artist decorate the walls and floors of a house, and often conspicuously so.¹ Social status and personal taste were expressed differently in each Pompeian house through the use of such adornment.

It has already been established that rooms with high levels of social interaction, in wealthy houses like the House of the Faun, were more conspicuous in terms of proportion and had Hellenistic public architectural features. Consequently, these particular rooms would then logically be expected to be more extravagantly decorated, as more symbolic meaning was attached to them and there was more opportunity to display conspicuous consumption. This chapter will mainly look at immovable artistic decoration such as frescoes and mosaics found in rooms.² Parameters against which conspicuous consumption in immovable decoration can be measured, based on themes, styles and materials used for art, will be established in terms of frescoes and floor mosaics in the *peristylum domus*. The House of the Faun will then be analysed against these parameters.

¹ See Chapter 3: Some of the "paint" women used as cosmetics were also used by artists for frescoes (Pliny *HN* 35.32). Ovid (*Ars am.* 3) makes a clear connection between the cosmetic beautification of women and art. Also see Olson (2009: 309).

² Immovable artistic decoration was not limited to floor mosaics and frescoes. Other forms included mosaics on fountains, wall ornaments, and ceiling art. Fountain mosaics will be discussed as part of garden decoration, as fountains were most often found in gardens. According to Van Buren (1924: 112), the wooden framework of ceilings rarely survived. However, some of the stucco decorations survived, but were often destroyed during excavations or left to decay. Also see Clarke (2009: 334). Due to the scarcity of wall ornaments and ceiling art remains, they will not be discussed in this study and this could be an avenue for further study.

5.2 PARAMETERS FOR MEASURING CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION OF IMMOVABLE DECORATION IN THE *DOMUS*

5.2.1 Presence of Decoration

Decorated, plastered house walls appeared in the early second century BCE, and together with mosaic-covered floors were considered an unnecessary expenditure and luxury in the Roman *domus*.³ As Kuttner explains the luxury of a private art collection: “*Luxuria* meant the private hoarding of art, which was condemned on the principle that the pleasures of art ought to be publicly shared”.⁴ However, art also served as a way to have luxury without being accused of spending conspicuously, for example having imitation marble walls, which were painted and not of actual marble. Owners still gained prestige and status from imitations without gaining a reputation for being addicted to *luxuria*.⁵

Art did not just have a one-dimensional function simply as decoration. Art could convey an owner’s religious piety, status, personal taste, gender, or attempt to associate with the aristocratic and elite classes, as many newly rich freemen did.⁶ Most importantly art signalled wealth and status.⁷ A *domus* needed to fit the owner’s social standing in terms of proportion and decoration (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.2). The wealth and social rank of the *paterfamilias* was indicated through the private style of the house.⁸

Decoration was also used to differentiate between rooms and their social use.⁹ Thus, immovable art changed with the changing social functions of rooms and directed social behaviour.¹⁰ In other words, dynamic spaces with a constant movement of

³ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 149. Also see Stewart (2004: 86) and Gazda (2002: 14).

⁴ Kuttner, 2004: 316.

⁵ Stewart, 2004: 86.

⁶ Clarke, 2003: 222.

⁷ Zanker, 1998: 13.

⁸ Hales, 2007: 335.

⁹ Zanker, 1998: 13.

¹⁰ Stewart, 2004: 87. Also see Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 149).

people, like the *atrium*, had less intricate designs. Static spaces, like the *triclinium*, had more intricate designs as people would spend a longer period of time in that space and could appreciate and discuss the decoration.¹¹ As Clarke explains, static spaces nearly always had elaborate mythological images, whereas dynamic spaces hardly ever had such images.¹² This approach helps to distinguish between different spaces in the house as the change in decoration meant a change in functionality of a space and levels of social interaction.¹³

A small percentage of all the houses in Pompeii contained either mosaics or mythical paintings, since they were mainly found in aristocratic houses.¹⁴ Larger houses with more rooms had more decorations and the décor was more lavish. Thus, the size of a house gave a good indication of the lavishness of the interior decoration.¹⁵ Beautifications of any form within the house had no economic function, but rather played a role in the social and public life of the owner.¹⁶

5.2.2 Artistic Styles

Art was most importantly used to signal wealth and status, and to differentiate between rooms and their social use.¹⁷ Most of what is known about Pompeii's frescoes (painted wall art) is based on the classifications created by Mau, known as the "Four Styles". Mau mainly categorised wall decorations according to periods of

¹¹ *Ekphrasis* was another Hellenistic practice adopted by the Romans where diners extravagantly explained and philosophised over the images, often mythical, depicted in the art in the room (Clarke, 2003: 226).

¹² Clarke, 2003: 222.

¹³ Stewart, 2004: 87.

¹⁴ A study done by Wallace-Hadrill (1994) in Pompeii showed only 25% of houses had mythical paintings and only 20% of houses contained mosaics. The situation was reversed in Herculaneum, with more mosaics found than mythical paintings (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 154).

¹⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 154.

¹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 158.

¹⁷ Zanker, 1998: 13.

architectural construction.¹⁸ Mau states that this type of categorisation illustrates the evolution of decorative arts in Pompeii throughout time.¹⁹

Later scholarship on Pompeian wall painting has relied heavily on Mau's categorisations, despite its various shortcomings,²⁰ and hence very few scholars have attempted new theories. Often, only elaborations such as more accurate dates or the refinement of Mau's styles have been presented.²¹ Even conflicting data has been altered to suit Mau's system. Like other historic categorisations, the four styles were a type of academic creation to enable people to understand the changes in domestic art that took place.²² By formulating the system of the four styles, Mau aimed to create a simplified history of a chaotic reality of painted art, but by doing so ignored possible problems such as failing to include other time periods and sites, or the coinciding of various styles.²³ Furthermore, Mau's system did not allow space for the variety of personal tastes or interpretation by individuals of a style. He only presented a generalised, straightforward structure.²⁴

Mau argued that from the second century BCE, wall art was typically painted in one of the "Four Styles": the First Style (200 to 80 BCE), the Second Style (80 to 15 BCE), the Third Style (15 BCE to 50 CE), and the Fourth Style (50 to 79 CE).²⁵ The first two styles were popular mainly during the Republican period and were derived from Greek trends.²⁶ The First Style was simple, dividing the height of a wall into horizontal

¹⁸ Mau, 1899: 447-8.

¹⁹ Mau, 1899: 447.

²⁰ Stewart, 2004: 76.

²¹ Wallace-Hadrill (1994) measured wall decoration in order to answer various questions, such as: how the diffusion of decoration took place, how social and economic factors were related to decoration, how decoration changed over time, and how decoration differed amongst social classes (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 151). He broke down aspects of Mau's models to better identify luxury in art amongst his sample group, however still remaining within the constraints of Mau's model. For descriptions of the four styles, see Ramage & Ramage (2015: 98-109).

²² Stewart, 2004: 83.

²³ Stewart, 2004: 82.

²⁴ Stewart, 2004: 83.

²⁵ Tuck, 2015: 94.

²⁶ McCorquodale, 1983: 21.

zones that consisted of imitation marble panels,²⁷ after Hellenistic-palace wall design (Figure 5.1).²⁸ The first zone from the bottom is a simple *socle* zone, with larger panels in the *orthostat* zone, and smaller panels in the isodomic courses. A string course or frieze was often placed between each horizontal zone.²⁹ The isodomic courses were usually divided into smaller panels of different colours. The imitation marble panels would be sculpted in relief to mimic the luxurious marble blocks found in Hellenistic palaces and temples.³⁰ Stucco columns, spaced across the length of a wall, were commonly used in the first style in the *peristylum*. Within the *cubiculum*, painted panels were different to the other panels in order to indicate the location of the bed, together with a raised floor and lower ceiling.³¹

The focus of the Second Style moved to the middle zone (Figure 5.2).³² The top and bottom zone became smaller and created a border around the middle zone.³³ An illusory architectural scene was created through this border or window in the middle zone.³⁴ Painted columns, create the illusion of being loadbearing replaced stucco columns.³⁵ Architectural features did not represent real, known structures, but imaginary buildings. Slowly transitioning to the Third Style, the late Second Style consisted of more panel paintings with less depth, in a modern sense like a painting hanging on a wall.³⁶ The First and Second Styles reached a level of intricacy and superiority that was unlike their Hellenistic and Etruscan prototypes.³⁷

²⁷ Ling, 1991: 13.

²⁸ Tuck, 2015: 95.

²⁹ Ling, 1991: 13-16. Also see Stroocka (2009: 305).

³⁰ Clarke, 1991: 34, 39.

³¹ Ellis, 2000: 116.

³² Ramage & Ramage, 2015: 99. For the visual perspective systems that artists used in Second Style wall paintings in Rome and Campania, see Clarke (1991: 45-49) and Stinson (2011: 403-426).

³³ Ellis, 2000: 116.

³⁴ Ramage & Ramage, 2015: 103.

³⁵ Clarke, 1991: 34.

³⁶ Ellis, 2000: 116. See Clarke (1991: 49-53) for more on the Late Second Style.

³⁷ Clarke, 1991: 38.

The Third Style moved away from the imaginary window panels to painted areas with no depth (Figure 5.3).³⁸ Attention to detail increased with more intricate themes and landscapes, surrounded by large, flat colour panels. Painters also had the opportunity to spend more time on these smaller central panels.³⁹ The painted “loadbearing” columns of the Second Style became borders of ornate motifs or fine cords in the Third Style.⁴⁰ Egyptian themes became common, with Nile imagery and Egyptian gods.⁴¹

The last style before the eruption of Vesuvius was known as the Fourth Style or the Intricate Style (Figure 5.4).⁴² This style was rather complicated and combined elements of the previous styles: imitation marble at the base of the wall (First Style), framed architectural scenes (Second Style), and fine architectural details with large colour planes (Third Style).⁴³ Centred paintings, from the Third Style, were also used, but on a larger scale and with a larger variety of themes. The House of the Vettii contains the best examples of the Fourth Style.⁴⁴

Because the House of the Faun is mainly decorated in the First Style, according to Mau, it is prudent to focus on this style and how it changed from room to room according to function.⁴⁵ As only a few houses from this period survive and, in addition, were often rebuilt and repainted in later periods, not as much is known about this style as the later styles.⁴⁶ This style relied on the position and size of the room to indicate function and the amount of social interaction, whereas later styles indicated room use with the level of decoration.⁴⁷ Westgate offers an interesting

³⁸ Ramage & Ramage, 2015: 107.

³⁹ Ellis, 2000: 117.

⁴⁰ Ramage & Ramage, 2015: 107.

⁴¹ Clarke, 1991: 56. For the late Third Style, see Clarke (1991: 65).

⁴² Mau, 1899: 457.

⁴³ Ramage & Ramage, 2015: 109.

⁴⁴ Ellis, 2000: 117. See Richardson (1955: 111-160) for how the Fourth Style was executed in the House of the Dioscuri.

⁴⁵ Little, 1945: 134.

⁴⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 149.

⁴⁷ Clarke, 1991: 40.

approach towards the First Style in terms of distinguishing between rooms and their functions. Due to the simplicity and lack in variation of this style, the only differentiation between rooms was the “degree of elaboration” of the style and the type of floor covering used.⁴⁸ The “level of elaboration” is determined by “the extent of relief moulding; the number of frieze bands; the colours and motifs used; and the addition of monumental architectural forms in stucco relief”.⁴⁹ As room functions and levels of social interaction were determined in the previous chapter, the degree of elaboration in various rooms supports this argument. Thus, when a room displayed a higher degree of elaboration, however simplistic, it indicated more conspicuous consumption. It is senseless to try to compare or identify different styles to each other as each were from a different time period and differed in technique, style and themes.

Frescoes found throughout Pompeii had different levels of execution and elaboration from whitewashed plaster to intricate images, which makes comparison difficult.⁵⁰ Walls were also often redecorated, repaired and/or rebuilt.⁵¹ Thus, it is difficult to measure the quality of art. Rooms decorated with more than just white plaster thus becomes an important aspect. Focus will be placed on the level of elaboration of the First Style in the House of the Faun.

5.2.3 Artistic Themes

Artistic themes varied in geometric motifs in both mosaics and paintings that were commonly found in houses across all status groups. Houses of the wealthy, however, had a variety of pictorial imagery differentiating them from lower-class houses.

⁴⁸ Westgate, 2007: 313. Witts (2000: 291-324) used a similar approach by looking at mosaics to determine room function in Roman-British villas.

⁴⁹ Westgate, 2000b: 397. Westgate focused on the Masonry Style found in Greece during the Hellenistic period (Westgate, 2000b: 391). Even though she is discussing the Greek Masonry Style, the Pompeian First Style was a variation of this, mainly with the zone beneath the *orthostat* being larger (Ling, 1991: 13), and thus the same factors apply.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 1 for problems encountered while conducting research for this study.

⁵¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 149.

Everyday life, such as hunting and fishing scenes, and classic myths were popular themes.⁵² The wealthy also had a great appreciation for Egyptian images, especially imagery related to the Nile.⁵³ Large frescoes imitating the Egyptian landscapes created the illusion of going on retreat next to the Nile.⁵⁴

Around 500 BCE, Greek myths emerged in art,⁵⁵ although it only became common in houses of the wealthy during the Empire, which had a strong connection to the Greek art looted during the late Republic.⁵⁶ During the second century BCE, Greek artists and craftsmen from Alexandria and other Hellenistic cities arrived in Italy and often received commissions in Pompeii and this presented them the opportunity to use local Greek imagery and techniques.⁵⁷ Gazda uses the concept of “Roman copy after a Greek original” to describe the idea, and often the misconception, that all Roman art was simply and dependently recreations of the more superior Greek forerunners. Roman art work was, however, created in a unique Roman culture, setting and time period.⁵⁸ It is often accepted that Roman art of specific composition were copies of famous Greek artworks, however Gazda argues that these prototypes were in fact of Roman origin and not copies of Greek originals.⁵⁹ The main misconception is that Roman art was inferior to Greek art in terms of execution and skill. However, the main concern here is the use of Greek themes as wealthy Pompeians valued the esteemed Hellenistic lifestyle, which started during the second century BCE, and this was connected to the expression of wealth and luxury.⁶⁰

⁵² Ellis, 2000: 114.

⁵³ McCorquodale, 1983: 22. Also see Clarke (2003: 213) and Strong (1976: 56).

⁵⁴ Zanker, 1998: 178.

⁵⁵ Kuttner, 2004: 297.

⁵⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 150. For imagery in Roman art during the Empire, see Uzzi (2007: 61-81).

⁵⁷ Westgate, 2000a: 264. See Toynbee (1950: 295-302) for notes on Roman artists across the Roman Empire.

⁵⁸ Gazda, 2002: 3.

⁵⁹ Gazda, 2002: 6. Also see Trimble (2002: 225).

⁶⁰ Zanker, 1998: 141.

For decoration this meant the imitation of costly marble wall coverings,⁶¹ similar to the Hellenistic Masonry style.⁶² Mosaic floors were created using *emblemata*, a small, detailed mosaic picture that has been produced in a workshop beforehand and added to a larger simple mosaic design.⁶³ Artistic themes were influenced by the sumptuous Greek banquets that were particularly sought after by the Romans.⁶⁴ This Greek lifestyle was represented by Dionysus, the god of wine and the dinner party.⁶⁵ Not only did imagery of Dionysus represent this lifestyle, but by associating oneself as a follower of Dionysus, you “announced to all that they valued and embraced the luxury of the banquet, one of the pleasures that money could buy”.⁶⁶ The high occurrence of Dionysian imagery found in Pompeii indicates to what extent Pompeians valued the Hellenistic way of life, including its art and myths. The highly extravagant Hellenistic palaces were often decorated with Dionysian imagery. Thus, Dionysus symbolised the pleasure of Hellenistic life, that of luxurious banquets and extravagant palaces.⁶⁷

Dionysus was foremost the god of wine, but also functioned as the god of the harvest,⁶⁸ and as the god of drama and tragedy,⁶⁹ he was represented by theatrical masks.⁷⁰ The theatrical masks were also seen as sacred and connected the wearer to the god himself.⁷¹ The tragic masks were connected to the idea of Hellenistic royalty as palace decorations were inspired by performing arts, and Pompeian rooms were often decorated following this tradition of using cult images, such as Dionysus and

⁶¹ Clarke, 2003: 247.

⁶² Westgate, 2007: 313.

⁶³ Ling, 1992: 18.

⁶⁴ Clarke, 2003: 223. Hellenisation included dramatic theatrical performances, which were introduced in 240 BCE (Graf, 2007: 57). See also Zanker (1998: 37).

⁶⁵ Clarke, 2003: 213. See Versnel (1990: 96-212) on Bacchic rites in Classical Greece.

⁶⁶ Clarke, 2003: 250.

⁶⁷ Hales, 2007: 335. As Dionysian imagery in Pompeii stemmed from Greek influences, the god is referred to as Dionysus, his Greek name, and not Bacchus, the Roman equivalent (Hales, 2007: 335).

⁶⁸ Roman & Roman, 2010: 137.

⁶⁹ Bassi, 1998: 15. Also see Easterling (1997: 45) and Green (2007: 165).

⁷⁰ Hales, 2007: 335. For masks in Greek and Roman theatre, see McCart (2007: 247-266).

⁷¹ Liapis, Panayotakis & Harrison, 2013: 9.

Aphrodite.⁷² Masks were frequently used in ancient Greek and Roman theatrical performances,⁷³ and symbolised theatre itself.⁷⁴ Comedic and tragic theatrical images became popular depictions in Greek art,⁷⁵ and were often illustrated in Hellenistic-style art in Pompeii.⁷⁶

Other Dionysian symbols included plant images such as grapes, ivy, myrtle,⁷⁷ bindweed, the pine tree, and his *thyrsus*, a staff with a pine cone at the end.⁷⁸ His followers, satyrs, maenads, and Silenus, were often displayed in art.⁷⁹ He could also be depicted himself as a boy or man wearing a panther skin with an ivy crown and his *thyrsus*, alongside a panther, a tiger, a leopard, a bull or a serpent.⁸⁰ All the themes mentioned above were commonly illustrated in wall frescoes and floor mosaics of the wealthy. An important parameter, whether relating to frescoes or mosaic art, was the theme depicted. Themes that were most favoured by the wealthy were closely related to the luxurious Hellenistic lifestyle, Hellenistic palaces, banquets and any aspect that represented this lifestyle.⁸¹ This included the Hellenistic Masonry style, images related to Dionysus, and imagery of Hellenistic Egypt.

Plant motifs were not only used throughout the house in mythological paintings, garlands and other stylized plant paintings but for decorating garden walls. Plant motifs had symbolic meaning in mythological paintings and garlands of laurel, myrtle,

⁷² Little, 1945: 137. Dionysus was often directly associated with Aphrodite (Storey & Allan, 2005: 27).

⁷³ McCart, 2007: 247. See Bassi (1998: 192-224) on the theatre of Dionysus in ancient Greece, and Easterling (1997: 37-53) on Dionysian performances and satyr plays.

⁷⁴ McCart, 2007: 266.

⁷⁵ Griffith, 2007: 25.

⁷⁶ Hales, 2007: 335. Thus, as the god of drama and as the theatrical masks signified the theatre itself, they automatically represented Dionysus as well.

⁷⁷ Roman & Roman, 2010: 37.

⁷⁸ Bolton, 2002: 188.

⁷⁹ A satyr was half man and half goat, usually drunk and lustful (Roman & Roman, 2010: 432). Silenus was an older satyr (Bolton, 2002: 199), and was a companion and tutor to Dionysus (Roman & Roman, 2010: 442). Maenads were female followers of Dionysus, also called Bacchantes (Storey & Allan, 2005: 26).

⁸⁰ Roman & Roman, 2010: 137. Also see Storey & Allan (2005: 26).

⁸¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 150.

and ivy represented garlands used for festivals. Painted plants found at the base of garden walls usually suggest a continuity of plants that grew there,⁸² and create the illusion of a larger garden.⁸³

5.2.4 Expensive Materials

5.2.4.1 Materials used for wall art

Cosmetic paints, such as *melinum*, chalk, white lead, soot, red ochre, rubric, and red lead, used by women were often also used by artists on walls.⁸⁴ Colours used in frescoes included *ceuleum* (“light blue” or known as “Pompeian blue”), *attioru* (“white”) made of calcareous clay and fossil remains, *rebrica* (“red ochre”) based on ferrous oxides and hematite, *sandyx* (“reddish”) obtained from calcification of yellow ochre and based on red lead oxide mixed with rubric, *sil atticum* (“yellow”), and *purpurissum* (“purple”) made from murex shells (Vitr. *De arch.* 7.7-14).⁸⁵ The mineralogical and chemical basis of the colours used in frescoes helps to identify the pigments available in a region and determine the wealth of the owners.⁸⁶

Colours such as red, yellow and black were used more often than blue and green, which were more expensive⁸⁷ and were used in the thinner frieze sections of more prestigious wall paintings.⁸⁸ Generally, the different zones often had a particular colour, for example the *socle* was usually red, and the *orthostat* zones were black with coloured edges. The isodomic courses varied between yellow, green and red. The section above the isodomic courses were either red or white.⁸⁹ Specific colours

⁸² Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 80

⁸³ Jashemski, 2009: 488.

⁸⁴ Olson, 2009: 309.

⁸⁵ See Clarke *et al.*, (2005) on use of *purpurissum* in Pompeii, and Siotto *et al.* (2015: 239-246) on digital studies on colour and gilding.

⁸⁶ Mazzocchin *et al.*, 2006: 377.

⁸⁷ Westgate, 2000b: 398.

⁸⁸ Westgate, 2000b: 399.

⁸⁹ Westgate, 2000b: 399.

of paint were more expensive than others, thus playing an important role in the conspicuousness of art, especially in later, more intricate styles.

5.2.4.2 Materials used for mosaic art

Mosaics are better preserved than frescoes and are found in nearly every Roman province. The oldest floor mosaics found in Pompeii were made in the Western Greek tradition.⁹⁰ Mosaics were made by using small, coloured tiles called *tesserae* that were cut and placed together in mortar to create a design.⁹¹ The position of a floor mosaic affected the overall design and technique that had to be used in making it.⁹² The most expensive techniques, which made for very luxurious floor coverings, included *opus vermiculatum* and *opus sectile*.⁹³ *Opus vermiculatum* or tessellated mosaic was mostly found in wealthy settings and was made to look like imitations of painted art by using tiny pieces of *tesserae*.⁹⁴ *Opus sectile* is a type of mosaic technique characterised by larger cut pieces in a specific shape. Marble and stone were often used as material for this technique.⁹⁵ Perspectival cube patterns were created by using the *opus sectile* technique but are infrequently found.⁹⁶ *Opus signinum* was a technique where fragments of terracotta were mixed with red mortar.⁹⁷ In Pompeii, instead of using terracotta, fragments of lava were used in *opus signinum*, locally called *lavapesta*. *Opus signinum* was commonly used in paving room floors, specifically in houses built during the second century BCE.⁹⁸ Patterns were often created in the *opus signinum* with white *tesserae* in the mortar.⁹⁹ Another

⁹⁰ Westgate, 2000a: 257. Also see Strong (1976: 58).

⁹¹ Thompson *et al.*, 2007: 185.

⁹² Ellis, 2000: 127.

⁹³ Westgate, 2000a: 262.

⁹⁴ Boschetti, 2011: 62. Also see Thompson *et al.* (2007: 185).

⁹⁵ Westgate, 2000a: 259.

⁹⁶ Ling, 1991: 18.

⁹⁷ Westgate, 2000a: 257.

⁹⁸ Westgate, 2000a: 262.

⁹⁹ Dunbabin, 1999: 53.

technique was *opus incertum*, using larger fragments of limestone, obsidian (“volcanic glass”) in dense, uneven patterns.¹⁰⁰

As in Greek tradition, early Roman mosaics used *vermiculata emblemata* in their designs.¹⁰¹ As mosaics became larger in size during the early Empire, so did the *emblemata*.¹⁰² These large-scale pieces were used in big reception rooms, like the *triclinium* or *tablinum*. Designs could be positioned to be viewed when entering a room or from where guests were sitting inside the room.¹⁰³ Being a luxury, *emblema* designs were often only found in the main rooms,¹⁰⁴ or static rooms, whereas a continuous pattern was used in dynamic spaces such as the *atrium*.¹⁰⁵ According to Stewart, impressive “illusionistic” coloured *emblemata* were often found during the First Style period, with more simplistic “non-illusionistic” wall coverings.¹⁰⁶

Vermiculata mosaics were difficult and costly to make. Expensive materials, such as glass and *faience* (“glazed ceramic”), were also used,¹⁰⁷ however, only small elements of a mosaic were made from glass.¹⁰⁸ The range of glass colours available in Italy was very narrow, specifically yellow, blue, green, orange, and opaque red. This opaque red, also known as “sealing-wax red glass”, was more commonly found than the other colours.¹⁰⁹ Only 13 *vermiculata* mosaics were found in Italy containing sealing-wax red glass.¹¹⁰ Shades of blue and green *faience tesserae* were found in *vermiculata* mosaics until the mid-first century BCE,¹¹¹ and it has been speculated

¹⁰⁰ Dunbabin, 1999: 54.

¹⁰¹ Boschetti, 2011: 62. An *emblema* is a small, detailed picture, frequently replicas of famous paintings that had been produced in a workshop beforehand and added to a larger simple mosaic (Ling, 1992: 18). Also see Strong (1976: 54) and Thompson *et al.* (2007: 185).

¹⁰² Ellis, 2000: 128.

¹⁰³ Ling, 1991: 21.

¹⁰⁴ Ling, 1991: 18.

¹⁰⁵ Westgate, 2007: 316.

¹⁰⁶ Stewart, 2004: 94.

¹⁰⁷ Boschetti, 2011: 64.

¹⁰⁸ Boschetti, 2011: 68.

¹⁰⁹ Boschetti, 2011: 69.

¹¹⁰ Boschetti, 2011: 70.

¹¹¹ Boschetti, 2011: 66.

that these *tesserae* were imported from Egyptian workshops.¹¹² Colourful marble and mosaic floor designs were without doubt a luxury of the wealthy.¹¹³ Mosaics of *opus vermiculatum* and *opus sectile* were the most luxurious.¹¹⁴ *Vermiculata* mosaics were difficult and costly to make, as they used very small *tesserae* of expensive materials, to create intricate designs.¹¹⁵

5.3 WALL AND FLOOR ART IN THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN

The parameters established above, namely the elaboration of a style, the use of specific themes, the materials and colours used, and the type of mosaics, can function as a guide to indicate how the art in the House of the Faun was a display of conspicuous consumption. Where applicable, the art in the House of the Faun will be compared to similar items found in other houses to indicate conspicuousness. Stewart supports the idea that art of the House of the Faun was used to convey the status of the owners: “Wealthy Romans like the owners of the House of the Faun... use[d] the power of art to evoke a grand and impressive setting”.¹¹⁶

5.3.1 Wall Art

A variation of the simplistic Hellenistic Masonry Style was used in the House of the Faun. Wall art played a major role in distinguishing what spaces were used for in other Pompeian houses.¹¹⁷ However, for the House of the Faun focus has to shift to the changes in floor decorations to distinguish between spaces because of the

¹¹² Boschetti, 2011: 67. Again, as it is not the purpose of this thesis to determine whether Pompeiian art pieces were in fact replicas of original Greek works, art found in the House of the Faun will only be compared to other similar pieces found in Pompeii.

¹¹³ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 150.

¹¹⁴ Westgate, 2000a: 262.

¹¹⁵ Boschetti, 2011: 64.

¹¹⁶ Stewart, 2004: 86.

¹¹⁷ Westgate, 2007: 313.

simplicity of the wall art.¹¹⁸ Currently, several rooms have no remaining wall coverings, whereas a few rooms have patches of coloured wall, but no distinct sections or blocks. Some coloured panels are visible in the *fauces*, *atrium*, *cubiculum*, both *peristylia*, and the *exedra*.¹¹⁹

Wall art survived to various extents throughout the House of the Faun, and as the *fauces* contains the most complete example of wall art in this house, the *fauces* will be used to describe the how wall art would have functioned in the House of the Faun according to Westgate's four factors of elaboration.¹²⁰ The *fauces* of the House of the Faun possibly had higher levels of foot traffic than other rooms in the house and were the most visible space seen from the street, thus these walls already showed an elaborated version of the Masonry Style (Figure 5.5).

The first factor according to Westgate is how many sections had relief moulding. The frieze and the *orthostat* zones are in relief with bevelled edge blocks.¹²¹ The second factor determines how many bands the frieze has. This main frieze band is divided into bevelled-edge blocks or masonry blocks and appears to have simple continuous bands above and below the main band. Third, the use of colours other than white, and motifs were important. Colours that are still visible in this *fauces* are mainly red

¹¹⁸ Westgate, 2007: 314. The only example of possibly more complex wall art which has been found in the House of the Faun are four clay slabs discovered in the first *peristylum*. The slabs depict Nereids (sea nymphs) on seahorses. This classical theme was often found in Pompeii with varying arrangements. However, although these may have been wall tiles, it is not entirely clear how and where in the *peristylum* these slabs were used.

¹¹⁹ The eastern part of the house, mainly the tetrastyle *atrium*, is closed for restoration and conservation and therefore it was not possible to confirm Mau's findings or identify any other art styles in this section. A few secondary rooms were later decorated in the Second and Fourth Style (Mau, 1899: 286, 290). *Cubiculum* 13 and 19 were later repainted in the Second Style according to Mau. Very little wall of *cubiculum* 13 remains and the paintings have faded since the time that Mau was there, hence making it difficult to confirm this notion. Large panels of flat colour are still visible in *cubiculum* 19, with what appears to be painted columns in the middle zone. Therefore, it is very likely that this room was in fact painted in the Second Style.

¹²⁰ Westgate, 2000b: 397. Westgate focused on the Masonry Style found in Greece during the Hellenistic period (Westgate, 2000b: 391). Even though she is discussing the Hellenistic Masonry Style, the Pompeian First Style was a variation of this, mainly with the zone beneath the *orthostat* being larger (Ling, 1991: 13), and thus the same factors apply.

¹²¹ Westgate, 2000b: 397.

and yellow, and smaller sections of a blue-green colour, which were more expensive.¹²² The bevelled-edge blocks in the frieze have yellow and green edges with the central block having a design of circular patterns and what appear to be olive branches.¹²³ Decorative themes like this and imitation marble in the frieze were more expensive as they were more labour-intensive.¹²⁴ Lastly, architectural forms in stucco relief, on the upper part of the wall, were very rare. The *fauces* however did have tufa shelves on either side, with small Corinthian columns which created a temple-façade illusion. Not only did this create a sense of public architecture, which was prestigious, but it displayed the owner's ability to pay for such labour.¹²⁵

The *fauces* of the House of the Faun is very similar to the original Hellenistic Masonry Style. The Pompeian First Style was an interpretation of the Hellenistic style with the zones in a slightly different sequence. Many variations are found in Pompeii, but the most important aspects of both the styles are the bevelled-edge blocks, various colours, motifs and imitation columns or architectural structures. As with the *fauces*, these aspects are also visible in dynamic rooms such as the *atrium*, *triclinium*, and *peristylum* (Figure 5.6). Colours still visible in the house range from yellow, black, red, white, and a blue-green. In some of the *cubicula*, that still have wall coverings left, there are panels of colour without bevelled-edge blocks, which indicate lower levels of elaboration, meaning these rooms did not see as many guests.

5.3.2 Mosaics

The mosaics from the House of the Faun are far better preserved than the wall art and can be viewed in the MANN, with three replicas in the house itself (Figure 5.7). The majority of the floor coverings were *opus incertum* (Figure 5.8), made of

¹²² Westgate, 2000b: 398.

¹²³ Fant, 2009: 336.

¹²⁴ Westgate, 2000b: 399.

¹²⁵ Westgate, 2000b: 400.

limestone, alabaster, glass pieces and palombino marble¹²⁶ with some *opus signinum* floors (Figure 5.9).¹²⁷

Opus sectile covered several floors, including the *fauces*, the *impluvium*, and the *tablinum* (Figure 5.10).¹²⁸ The House of the Faun is one of three cases where glass was used in *opus sectile*, which indicates the conspicuous nature of these mosaics.¹²⁹ Four mosaics in the House of the Faun contained sealing-wax red glass, two of which were *opus incertum* and two *opus vermiculatum* (Figure 5.11).¹³⁰ The *vermiculata emblemata* found in the rooms of the House of the Faun will again be discussed according to the level of social interaction and invitation. Where applicable, mosaics of the House of the Faun will be compared to mosaics from other houses. The reception areas, including the *fauces*, *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *peristylum*, had high levels of social interaction and were conspicuous in architectural structure. These spaces should then be extravagantly decorated by either wall or floor art.

5.3.2.1 Vestibulum and fauces

HAVE mosaic (Figure 5.12)

Before even stepping into the *vestibulum* of the House of the Faun, the word *HAVE*, meaning welcome, was created with pieces of marble.¹³¹ When entering a house, visitors moved from a public space protected by the city gods to a domestic space that was under the protection of the owner himself and the *lares*, thus the greeting message ensured the visitor luck when moving between realms.¹³²

¹²⁶ Boschetti, 2011: 73. Palombino marble is a Campanian marble with brown specks (Salvatori, Trucchi & Guidobaldi, 1988: 180).

¹²⁷ Boschetti, 2011: 73.

¹²⁸ Westgate, 2000a: 263.

¹²⁹ Boschetti, 2011: 74.

¹³⁰ Boschetti, 2011: 70.

¹³¹ Mau, 1899: 283.

¹³² Clarke, 2003: 250.

The House of the Bear (VII.2.45) also has a welcome mosaic with a wounded bear and the words *HAVE*.¹³³ Other messages of welcome or warning can be found in *vestibula* of other Pompeian houses, such as *SALVE LUCRUM* (“welcome profit”)¹³⁴ and *CAVE CANEM* (“beware of the dog”) (Figure 5.12).¹³⁵ Some houses, however, had symbolic messages. The House of the Vettii has a figure of the god Priapus painted at the entrance, which was a symbol of good fortune, the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1) has a mosaic of a dog laying down as a warning;¹³⁶ and one of the column capitals in the *vestibulum* of the House of the Figured Capitals had an image of the owner and his wife greeting guests (Figure 5.13).¹³⁷

The messages found in these houses are all in the *vestibulum*, whereas the *HAVE* of the House of the Faun is on the sidewalk just before stepping onto the *vestibulum*. Despite not being as intricately designed as the above-mentioned mosaics, it is possible that the owner of the House of the Faun received so many visitors that the *vestibulum* was constantly filled with people waiting to meet with the *paterfamilias* and hence the welcome message would not have been visible.

After passing through the *vestibulum*, a large *opus sectile* mosaic covers the *fauces* floor (Figure 5.10). Triangular pieces of marble in various colours were used and this style of mosaic was a sign of luxury, thus establishing the owners’ status and wealth before entering the house.

Tragic masks mosaic (Figure 5.14)

A colourful mosaic strip with tragic masks separated the entrance from the large *atrium*.¹³⁸ According to MANN, this intricate mosaic was placed in a space with high

¹³³ Dunbabin, 1999: 307.

¹³⁴ Found in the House of Siricus (VII.1.47) (Dunbabin, 1999: 56).

¹³⁵ Found in the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.8.3) (Dunbabin, 1999: 58). Other than the House of the Faun, this was the only house I saw with a welcome message (personal observation).

¹³⁶ Dunbabin, 1999: 58.

¹³⁷ Clarke, 2003: 248.

¹³⁸ This mosaic is on display in the MANN inv. no. 9994.

levels of foot traffic, however almost no damage can be seen, suggesting “this entrance was only opened during special circumstances”.¹³⁹ However, it could also indicate the capability of the owners to have the mosaic regularly fixed. This mosaic of two tragic masks surrounded with plants and fruits was made using the *opus vermiculatum* technique, a laborious and expensive type of mosaic.¹⁴⁰

Similar to the House of the Faun, the House of the Centenary (IX.8.6) and the House of Paquius Proculus have mosaics separating the *fauces* from the *atrium*, however using *opus signinum* (Figure 5.15). The former mosaic contains mythical marine life, a dolphin being chased by a sea monster, of very simple monochrome design with very little detail. The latter mosaic is also of a mythical theme with two centaurs and a goat. Slightly more intricate and colourful, however, it is still very simplistic compared to the tragic masks mosaic in the House of the Faun.

The tragic masks mosaic is of such high quality and detail that the *tesserae* are hardly visible on this 54x281 cm image. It is relatively large with very small *tesserae*, which means more *tesserae* are needed, also increasing the value of the mosaic. The garland of fruit and plants are connected by a *lemnisco* of silk, a ribbon that was an *insignia* of Roman nobility.¹⁴¹ The two tragic masks were connected to Dionysian cult,¹⁴² and the hairstyles of these masks are very similar to the *tutulus*, which had a religious significance, of the *materfamilias*.¹⁴³ It is possible that since the two masks are identical, that they also signified Janus, the two-faced god of entryways and doors, signifying the movement between spaces and realms.¹⁴⁴ Westgate suggests that,

¹³⁹ MANN, 2016: 9994.

¹⁴⁰ Westgate, 2000a: 263.

¹⁴¹ *Collins Latin Dictionary & Grammar s.v. lemniscus*. Zanker (1998: 39) identified Dionysian drums in this mosaic, however no other source confirms that they are Dionysian drums.

¹⁴² Hales, 2007: 335. As discussed in section 5.2.1, Dionysus was the god of drama and tragedy and was represented by theatrical masks. Dionysian imagery was also connected to the idea of Hellenistic royal palaces (Little, 1945: 137).

¹⁴³ Cleland *et al.*, 2007: 202. See Chapter 3, section 3.4.6 on hairstyles of women.

¹⁴⁴ Roman & Roman, 2010: 289.

[t]he owner of the Casa del Fauno was making a very deliberate statement about himself when he chose a pair of tragic masks to mark the entrance to his house: every visitor who stepped over them would know that he was a man of culture.¹⁴⁵

In other words, the owner announced that he embraced the luxurious, sought-after Hellenistic lifestyle.¹⁴⁶ Whether the owner employed a Greek artist who chose this Hellenistic topic¹⁴⁷ or chose to display his knowledge of the Greek lifestyle and the ability to afford it,¹⁴⁸ both scenarios point to a deliberate display of conspicuous consumption.

Most of the fruits and plants in this mosaic were consumed as food and/or used for their medicinal properties.¹⁴⁹ Other than these everyday uses, the vegetal imagery was used in the mosaic to represent Dionysus as the god of the harvest.¹⁵⁰ The fruits and plants in the mosaic will be discussed, from left to right, in order to identify special status-related uses and Dionysian-related imagery that signified the luxurious, conspicuous lifestyle (Figure 5.16).¹⁵¹

On either end of the mosaic there are some pomegranates. The pomegranate was used for tanning leather and the flower was used to dye textiles purple, which was a status symbol (Plin. *HN* 13.34). This specific purple was called *punicum* after *Punica Granatum* (“pomegranate”). Having so many seeds, the pomegranate was also seen as a fertility symbol,¹⁵² which was an attribute of Priapus, the son of Dionysus and

¹⁴⁵ Westgate, 2000a: 270.

¹⁴⁶ Zanker, 1998: 37. Also see Clarke (2003: 223).

¹⁴⁷ Tuck, 2015: 94.

¹⁴⁸ Zanker, 1998: 37.

¹⁴⁹ The pomegranate was used for its medicinal properties (Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 154), sour cherries or blackberries, grapes, quince, olives and olive oil were important as food, but also had medicinal properties (Meyer, 1980: 417).

¹⁵⁰ Roman & Roman, 2010: 136.

¹⁵¹ Different methods, such as examining archaeological remains (shells, bones, seeds, non-biodegradable products) and images depicted in art, were used by Jashemski & Meyer (2002) to identify fauna and flora in Pompeii (Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 240). See Cooley & Cooley (2014: 241) for lists on fruit, vegetables, nuts, grains found in ancient Pompeii.

¹⁵² Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 154. The pomegranate and its symbolic function of fertility were specifically attributed to Persephone, the Greek goddess of the underworld (Roman & Roman, 2010: 392, 391).

Aphrodite,¹⁵³ and can thus be related to Hellenistic-palace cult images. Immediately above the left ring or drum, there is what appears to be a blackberry¹⁵⁴ and some sour cherries and their flowers.¹⁵⁵ Pliny (*HN* 15.30) discussed nine varieties of cherries, however he did not specify what they were used for. Not much else has been said, by modern or ancient scholars, on their significance other than for eating.¹⁵⁶

A bunch of grapes are visible on the inside of the left ring. The grape was extremely important in Italy, so much so that Pliny (*HN* 14.8) said “supremacy in respect of the vine is to such a degree the special distinction of Italy that even with this one possession she can be thought to have vanquished all the good things of the world”.¹⁵⁷ Different varieties of grapes were grown which were mainly used to make wine¹⁵⁸ but were also frequently eaten.¹⁵⁹ Grapes were also offered to the *lares* in household rituals.¹⁶⁰ Wine and vines again refer to Dionysus and thus the cult image linked to Hellenistic royalty.¹⁶¹

In between the left mask and middle ring are some yellow quinces. The quince fruit was a symbol of happiness and love and was dedicated to Venus.¹⁶² Perhaps because of this significance, this fruit was placed in the centre of the mosaic. Directly opposite the quince, on the other side of the ring, is some type of flower, either a rose or a poppy flower. Comes identified a rose in an unspecified mosaic of the House of the Faun,¹⁶³ however Jashemski states that they were unable to identify a rose in any mosaics of the House of the Faun.¹⁶⁴ *Venus Pompeiana* was the goddess of protection

¹⁵³ Bolton, 2002: 120.

¹⁵⁴ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 160.

¹⁵⁵ Comes, 1897: 56. Also see Casella (1950: 373).

¹⁵⁶ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 148. Also see Wilkins & Hill (2006: 36).

¹⁵⁷ Translation by Meyer (1980: 434).

¹⁵⁸ Wilkins & Nadaeu, 2015: 167.

¹⁵⁹ Wilkins & Nadaeu, 2015: 109.

¹⁶⁰ Robinson, 2002: 97.

¹⁶¹ Westgate, 2000a: 270.

¹⁶² Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 107.

¹⁶³ Comes, 1897: 65.

¹⁶⁴ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 158.

of Pompeii¹⁶⁵ and her flower was the rose (Plin. *HN* 21.10.).¹⁶⁶ The flower of the poppy does not have as many leaves as the flower in the mosaic. Thus, it seems more likely to me that the flower in the mosaic is a rose, illustrated directly opposite another symbol of Venus, the quince.

On the far right of the mosaic, next to the mask, are pinecones and opium poppies. The cones have been identified as from the *Pinus pinea* species, of which one cone is an immature green cone and the other is a mature pinecone.¹⁶⁷ The pinecone was also associated with Dionysus, particularly his *thyrsus*.¹⁶⁸ The nuts of this specific species were a delicacy and were used for creating mustard, sausages, and sweets.¹⁶⁹ Opium poppy seeds had many different uses. They were used for baking bread, were sprinkled on a sweet cheesecake,¹⁷⁰ and Petronius (*Sat.* 31) mentioned dormice served with honey and poppy seeds.¹⁷¹ Pine nuts and poppy seeds were both used in preparing dishes, especially for extravagant banquets with important guests.¹⁷²

Various leaves are present in the garland of the mosaic, including those of oak and ivy, both being evergreen plants.¹⁷³ Ivy in particular was associated with Dionysus.¹⁷⁴ Some olive branches can be recognised in the mosaic. Olive oil was used as lamp fuel, as ointment, and as a cleansing medium.¹⁷⁵ The olive branch was also a peace symbol,¹⁷⁶ and the god Janus was also closely related to peace.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁵ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 127.

¹⁶⁶ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 160. The quince and the rose are of the family Rosaceae (Arias & Ramón-Laca, 2005: 92).

¹⁶⁷ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 144.

¹⁶⁸ Roman & Roman, 2010: 137.

¹⁶⁹ Meyer, 1980: 421.

¹⁷⁰ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 139.

¹⁷¹ Pliny (*HN* 20.76-80) discussed at length the different types of poppies and their medicinal uses. He noted that if too much of the opium poppy was taken it could result in death (Plin. *HN* 20.76).

¹⁷² Also see Petronius (*Sat.* 31).

¹⁷³ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 156.

¹⁷⁴ Roman & Roman, 2010: 137.

¹⁷⁵ Meyer, 1980: 417.

¹⁷⁶ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 135.

¹⁷⁷ Roman & Roman, 2010: 289.

This mosaic contains cult images like Venus and Dionysus, amongst others, and theatrical masks that were related to Hellenistic palaces. The *vestibulum* mosaic wished visitors good luck as they entered the realm of the household gods,¹⁷⁸ also related to the god Janus,¹⁷⁹ thus this mosaic might be welcoming visitors into the realm of Dionysus and Venus *Pompeiana*, which meant love, happiness, protection, fertility and peace.¹⁸⁰ These cult images were a clear reference to the Hellenistic way of life, and that the owner could afford Greek *luxuria* and other pleasures associated with the Greek banquet.¹⁸¹ Not only do the specific foods symbolise Venus and Dionysus, but these foods were often served at extravagant banquets, which certainly were a *luxuria*.¹⁸² Fertility and prosperity were also represented by Priapus, the god of fertility, prosperity and the protector of fruit, gardens and livestock.¹⁸³ In the *fauces* of the House of the Vettii, Priapus was painted with a basket of fruit and a large phallus, which was also a symbol of good fortune.¹⁸⁴

Not only does the theme of luxurious Greek imagery display wealth, but the technique of this laborious, high-quality mosaic required an expert artist and must have been very expensive to make. Placing such an exquisite piece in the entrance of the *atrium*, with high levels of activity, could indicate expensive, durable materials or the owner's ability to afford frequent repairs, thus being a definite statement of the owner's status and wealth.

¹⁷⁸ Clarke, 2003: 250.

¹⁷⁹ Roman & Roman, 2010: 289.

¹⁸⁰ The MANN suggests that the mosaic depicted the promise of happiness and prosperity for those who led the Dionysian lifestyle (MANN, 2017: 9994).

¹⁸¹ Clarke, 2003: 250.

¹⁸² Petronius (*Sat.* 23-70) mentioned several delicacies served at a lavish banquet: "panniers containing olives... dormice sprinkled with poppy-seed and honey... plums and pomegranate seeds" (*Sat.* 31) "pastry and stuffed with nuts and raisins, quinces with spines sticking out so they looked like sea-urchins" (*Sat.* 69), "chick-peas and lupines, all the smooth-shelled nuts you wanted, and an apple apiece... pickled olives were handed around in a wooden bowl" (*Sat.* 66).

¹⁸³ Bolton, 2002: 120.

¹⁸⁴ Dunbabin, 1999: 58.

5.3.2.2 Atrium

The *atrium* shows no signs of special floor coverings and considering the high amount of foot traffic in the *atrium* it would seem probable that a durable, simple form of floor covering was used, similar to the House of Menander. Smaller houses that presumably received fewer visitors, such as the House of Paquius Proculus, could have intricate *opus signinum* mosaic floors as they would not get as worn as houses with plenty of foot traffic that caused damage to the floors (Figure 5.17). Even though the *atrium* floor in the House of the Faun did not have impressive floor coverings, the *impluvium* was laid out in *opus sectile* marble and stone pieces of various colours, mirroring the floor in the *fauces*, the only difference being the shape of the coloured pieces (Figure 5.18).

5.3.2.3 Tablinum

The *tablinum* also mirrored the luxurious *opus sectile* mosaic designs found in the *fauces* and *impluvium* mosaics, with similar colours but with the diamond-cut stones in a slightly different pattern (Figure 5.19). The *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis was emphasised by having the same simplistic but luxurious *opus sectile* mosaics in all three, high social-interaction areas.¹⁸⁵

5.3.2.4 Alae

Despite neither *alae* having any remaining wall coverings, mosaics in both rooms survived. The west *ala* (room 6) had an *emblema* of three doves pulling a necklace out of a box (Figure 5.20), and the remainder of the floor was covered with *opus incertum* mosaic that contained the sealing-wax red glass.¹⁸⁶ The House of the Labyrinth had a detailed mosaic of a partridge stealing a mirror, similar to how the dove is stealing the necklace in the House of the Faun mosaic. Another mosaic of doves, found in the *triclinium* of the House of the Doves (VIII.2.34) (113x70 cm), was

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter 4 for the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* discussion.

¹⁸⁶ Boschetti, 2011: 70.

made in the *opus vermiculatum* style with great detail and colours. Six doves are depicted drinking out of a golden bowl, with an intricate frame surrounding the *emblema* (Figure 5.21).¹⁸⁷

The dove mosaic in the House of the Faun was a simplistic illustration of three doves with a simple border, made with bigger *tesserae* and basic colours. The dove mosaics found in Pompeii are often compared to the famous mosaic by Greek artist, Sosus of Pergamon.¹⁸⁸ Whether or not it was based on the famous Greek mosaic, or it was produced by a Greek artist, it has clear Hellenistic tones as doves were often associated with Aphrodite, and doves were often sacrificed to the goddess in both Rome and Greece.¹⁸⁹

The east *ala* (room 10) contained an *emblema* with three visual sections, a cat catching a partridge or hen on the top section; the middle section with two ducks and lilies; and the bottom section with birds, shellfish and small fish (Figure 5.22) (53x53 cm).¹⁹⁰ This design was based on typical Nilotic imagery.¹⁹¹ A similar mosaic was found in the House of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (IX.2.27) (37x39 cm) with four fish in the top section and three ducks in the bottom section (Figure 5.23). Larger *tesserae* were used in this mosaic with a variety of colours on a white background.¹⁹²

Cats were not specifically used as pets, but mostly to control pests.¹⁹³ This specific cat was a rare Egyptian species found in ancient south Italy.¹⁹⁴ The hen next to the cat is bound at its feet with a red ribbon.¹⁹⁵ Chickens were widely domesticated and

¹⁸⁷ Westgate, 2000a: 266.

¹⁸⁸ Westgate, 2000a: 266, 270. See Pliny (*HN* 36.60) for a description of two of Sosus's mosaics.

¹⁸⁹ Arnott, 2007: 259. It was said she was hatched by doves from a giant egg (Arnott, 2007: 249).

¹⁹⁰ MANN inv. 9993

¹⁹¹ Westgate, 2000a: 269.

¹⁹² MANN inv. 109371. A similar mosaic was also found in a villa in Rome (Roman National Museum inv. 124137) (Figure 5.23).

¹⁹³ King, 2002: 426. Also see Kitchell (2014: 24-25).

¹⁹⁴ MANN, 2017: 9993.

¹⁹⁵ Watson, 2002: 380. Chickens were frequently depicted in Roman art (Arnott, 2007: 17).

mostly used for their meat and eggs.¹⁹⁶ The cat and hen scene is a typical hunting scene found in mosaics.

Two ducks are depicted underneath the cat and hen. The duck, according to Jennison, was associated with Aphrodite in Greece.¹⁹⁷ Duck was served at banquets in Greece and Rome and was highly valued for its tenderness.¹⁹⁸ Other brief descriptions about shelduck, on the right, and the European teal duck, on the left,¹⁹⁹ indicate that they were domesticated in the late Republic.²⁰⁰ The shelduck has a water lily in its beak and two water lilies in front of it. These ducks, water lilies and the cat repeat the Egyptian theme of the Nile mosaic found in the *exedra*.²⁰¹

Below the ducks another theme of fishing and hunting is depicted.²⁰² Chaffinches, of which there are four in this mosaic, were known to forecast the coming of winter in Italy.²⁰³ The wrasse fish visible in the bottom right corner of the mosaic²⁰⁴ often had brilliant colours, which made it highly sought after.²⁰⁵ Marine shells are visible between the birds and the fish. These shells include trumpet, cowrie, murex, scallop, and shrimp.²⁰⁶ Marine shells, being expensive, were often used on fountains as decorations as a form of conspicuous consumption.²⁰⁷

This mosaic represents typical hunting and fishing scenes found in wealthy houses.²⁰⁸ Hunting, the cat and partridge, and fishing could have represented the food that the

¹⁹⁶ Dalby, 2003: 83.

¹⁹⁷ Jennison, 1937: 15.

¹⁹⁸ Arnott, 2007: 217.

¹⁹⁹ Arnott, 2007: 39

²⁰⁰ Dalby, 2003: 124.

²⁰¹ MANN, 2017: 9993. See Chamoux (2002: 263) on Hellenistic lifestyle in Egypt.

²⁰² MANN, 2017: 9993.

²⁰³ Watson, 2002: 379. Also see Arnott (2007: 324).

²⁰⁴ Reese, 2002a: 281.

²⁰⁵ Dalby, 2003: 361. Wrasse was often used in medicine according to Pliny (*HN* 32.94).

²⁰⁶ Reese, 2002b: 294. The shells had various functions, the trumpet was used in religious rites, the cowrie was a protection charm against sterility, the murex was used to make purple dye, and the scallop was used for medicine (Reese, 2002b: 294, 295, 297, 304, 310).

²⁰⁷ Shells as a conspicuous symbol will be discussed in the next chapter.

²⁰⁸ Ellis, 2000: 114.

owner offered to his guests.²⁰⁹ Conversely the depiction of “food”, animals and plants, did not necessarily mean they were used as food.²¹⁰ This mosaic is more intricate than the dove mosaic, and therefore it could indicate that this *ala* was more public than the west *ala*. This particular mosaic was a more detailed and extravagant version of the typical imagery, as the owner of the House of the Faun was able to afford such a piece.²¹¹

The Greek-themed mosaic together with the sealing-wax red glass shows the owner’s sophistication and ability to afford expensive materials. The mosaic of the House of the Doves shows artistic skills, detail and extravagance, which should also be taken into account since the mosaic was displayed in the *triclinium*, which had high levels of interaction and hosted imported guests. The mosaic of the House of the Faun was displayed in the west *ala*. The fact that this mosaic was not of the same standard as a mosaic in the House of the Doves indicates a lower level of interaction, hence it was not as public as the *triclinium*, but more public than a room without mosaics, such as the *cubiculum*. It was not common for an *ala* to have mosaics, which usually meant there was furniture present or the *ala* was used as a storage unit.²¹² The fact that these two *alae* had mosaics, meant there was some social interaction taking place in these rooms which constituted some level of conspicuous consumption.

5.3.2.5 *Triclinium*

The *triclinia* on either side of the *tablinum* had mosaics with themes relating to the function of the rooms. The mosaic from the west *triclinium* (room 7) represents various sea animals surrounded by a garland frame.²¹³ The mosaic from the east

²⁰⁹ MANN, 2017: 9993.

²¹⁰ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 240. Considering each individual element in the mosaic, the ducks and the chaffinches were connected to winter and the fish and shells used in medicine, it is possible that this *ala* was used to store medicine and/or food for the winter months.

²¹¹ Westgate, 2000a: 269.

²¹² Cova, 2013: 385.

²¹³ MANN inv. 9997.

triclinium (room 9) has a representation of Dionysius on a tiger (165x165 cm).²¹⁴ Artwork, usually a depiction of a myth, in the *triclinium* provided a topic of conversation for the guests, the Hellenistic practice of *ekphrasis*.²¹⁵ The House of the Faun had four *triclinia*. These rooms had high levels of social interaction by invitation only, thus each had to be decorated in such a way as to impress visitors.

Sea animal mosaic (Figure 5.24)

The most recurring mosaic theme or stock motif found throughout the Mediterranean was variations of a marine composition with various fish and sea creatures. Typically, the same fighting creatures, a murena, an octopus, and a spiny lobster, were used in various combinations,²¹⁶ as seen in the different mosaics found in the House of the Faun (118x118 cm) and the House of the Geometric Mosaics (VIII.2.16) (86x86 cm).²¹⁷

The mosaic of the House of the Faun was relatively large and had a coloured background and a detailed vegetal border with small figures (Figure 5.25), whereas the mosaic from the House of the Geometric Mosaics was small with a plain black background and no framing border.²¹⁸ Moreover, the illustration of the sea animals is more detailed and shaded in the House of the Faun mosaic. Westgate suggests these two mosaics were possibly produced in the same workshop by different artists, and the varying motif was to suit different requests and different budgets of customers.²¹⁹

The sea animal *emblema* in the House of the Faun contains about 22 different animals, primarily fish. Six of these fish were commonly used in medicine; namely the

²¹⁴ MANN inv. 9991.

²¹⁵ Clarke, 2003: 226.

²¹⁶ Westgate, 2000a: 267.

²¹⁷ MANN inv. 120177.

²¹⁸ Westgate, 2000a: 269. The garland contained various flowers and eight cupids usually connected to Venus or could be repeating the Dionysus boy theme from the other *triclinium*.

²¹⁹ Westgate, 2000a: 269.

grey mullet, moray eel, electric ray, gilthead, octopus, red mullet.²²⁰ The red mullet was also greatly valued as it was costly and scarce and was a symbol of decadence and overindulgence.²²¹ It was also offered to the gods.²²² The liver of the red mullet was also a delicacy.²²³ Similarly, the Romans considered the sea bass to be as expensive as perfumes, silks and jewellery. The moray eel was a highly prized delicacy²²⁴ and was often even adorned with jewellery.²²⁵ Murex was used to produce expensive purple dye.²²⁶

These sea animals were connected to luxury and delicacies served at Roman banquets, similar to Hellenistic gourmet court food.²²⁷ Several scholars refer to fish as the ultimate luxury food.²²⁸ This could explain the frequency of fish in mosaics, as a *luxuria*, status symbol and possibly as a depiction of the type of food the host served to his guests.²²⁹

Dionysus on a tiger mosaic (Figure 5.26)

The east *triclinium* contained a mosaic of Dionysus riding a tiger. In this particular *emblema* a winged boy with an ivy crown, is depicted on a tiger-lion-hybrid, wearing a vine garland. The boy is drinking from a *kantharos* (“drinking cup”) and there is a *thyrsus* on the ground. All these features confirm that the boy in the mosaic is Dionysus. The garland surrounding the image is very similar to the mosaic in the *fauces* with the two tragic masks. This garland also has pomegranates, quinces, grapes, and what appears to be pears and apples. It has a variety of dramatic masks, two of women and six of men, in between various leaves and flowers. This garland is

²²⁰ Reese, 2002a: 282-290.

²²¹ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 248. The red mullet was not as common in Italian waters as in Greece, and thus was more expensive on the Roman market (Wilkins & Hill, 2006: 155).

²²² Wilkins & Hill, 2006: 107.

²²³ Wilkins & Hill, 2006: 243.

²²⁴ Dalby, 2003: 125.

²²⁵ Reese, 2002a: 280.

²²⁶ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 249. See Chapter 3 for discussion on *murex*.

²²⁷ Wilkins & Hill, 2006: 145. See also MANN (2017: 9997).

²²⁸ Wilkins & Hill, 2006: 155. See also Murray (2015: 41), Leigh (2015: 47), and Westgate (2000a: 271).

²²⁹ Personal conclusion, however also mentioned by MANN (2017: 9997).

almost identical to the one surrounding the dove mosaic found in the House of the Doves (Figure 5.27). Both of these mosaics had Dionysian imagery and were placed in *triclinia*, thus connecting the *triclinium* to the god of wine and the *luxuria* of the Hellenistic banquet.

The tragic masks were connected to the idea of Hellenistic royalty. Cult images of Dionysus were often used following this tradition,²³⁰ also signifying the owner's knowledge of Greek art and the pretentiousness connected to this.²³¹ It might also indicate that the owner employed Greek artists to create the mosaic, which was a prestigious and expensive service. Both *triclinium* mosaics are larger than the mosaics they were compared to, and executed with greater detail, colours, and workmanship.

5.3.2.6 Exedra

The *exedra* was larger than any of the *triclinia* and was possibly used for bigger banquets or more important guests. The need to impress is clearly expressed in the several mosaics found in this room. The *exedra* had a mosaic of Nile animals and two separate mosaics with Nile ducks, at the entrance (Figure 5.28).²³² Inside the *exedra* was the famous Alexander mosaic.²³³ Each of these *vermiculata emblemata* contained high-grade sealing-wax red glass.²³⁴

Nile animal mosaic (Figure 5.29)

The mosaic at the entrance of the *exedra* depicts mainly Egyptian birds: namely the Egyptian goose, coot, moorhen, shrike, glossy ibis, and some birds from southern Italy, namely the kingfisher, European teal, mallard, and shelduck, but the mosaic

²³⁰ Little, 1945: 137.

²³¹ Westgate, 2000a: 270.

²³² MANN inv. 9990 a/b/c.

²³³ MANN inv. 10020. See Merola (2006: 36-40) on creating a replica of the mosaic. The mosaic is partially preserved and currently in the Naples National Archaeological Museum, with a replica *in situ* in the House of the Faun.

²³⁴ Boschetti, 2011: 71.

was intended to depict Egyptian fauna.²³⁵ The sacred lotus, also called the Egyptian bean (Plin. *HN* 13.32), was also depicted in this mosaic, similar to the mosaic found in the east *ala*.²³⁶ The rest of the animals were all known to be of Egyptian origin. The mongooses, on the far left, were known to kill snakes and were important in Egyptian religion, more specifically in the cult of Isis.²³⁷ The Egyptian cobra was simply known by its reputation, but was not actually found in southern Italy.²³⁸ The Nile crocodile and hippopotamus were both found in the Nile, but only imported to Rome in 58 to 59 BCE.²³⁹ The fighting animals, hippopotamus/crocodile and mongoose/snake, mirror the battle between Alexander and Darius III inside the *exedra*.²⁴⁰ All the Egyptian fauna and flora in this mosaic establish the fact that it indeed represented the Nile. As Zanker explains the recurrence of Nilotic imagery:

The main point of such Egyptian landscapes appears to be to increase the sense of well-being already created by reminiscences of villa life such as architecture, furnishings, and decor; to these cues suggesting felicity the paintings added allusions to famous landscapes associated with the good life...epitomizing the height of luxury—and decadence.²⁴¹

The battle between Alexander and Darius III mosaic (Figure 5.30)

The Alexander *emblema* was created with the *opus vermiculatum* technique which required highly trained artists.²⁴² This mosaic had about two million *tesserae*,²⁴³ and filled 20 square meters inside the *exedra*, providing five mosaicists with five years of work, according to Boschetti.²⁴⁴ This mosaic is presumably a reproduction of a

²³⁵ Watson, 2002: 362. See also Watson (2002: 362-4, 396, 379, 380, 383, 391).

²³⁶ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 132. Also see Dioscorides (2.128), Columella (RR 8.15.4).

²³⁷ King, 2002: 429. Towards the end of the second century BCE, a temple was built for the Egyptian goddess Isis. It indicated the important links between Pompeii and Alexandria, mainly in culture and trade (Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 119).

²³⁸ Bodson, 2002: 348.

²³⁹ Kitchell, 2014: 39. See Kitchell (2014: 37-42) on the crocodile and the hippopotamus (2014: 87) in Greece and Rome.

²⁴⁰ MANN, 2017: 10020.

²⁴¹ Zanker, 1998: 188.

²⁴² Boschetti, 2011: 62.

²⁴³ Merola (2006: 38). According to Clarke (2003: 247), it took four million *tesserae*, and Cooley & Cooley (2014: 18) states it took 1.5 million.

²⁴⁴ Boschetti, 2011: 62.

Hellenistic painting that was made for King Cassander of Macedonia.²⁴⁵ The Alexander and Darius III mosaic has generated much discussion.²⁴⁶ It is unclear whether this mosaic depicts the battle at Issus or Gaugamela.²⁴⁷ Placing such an iconic mosaic in an *exedra* was a bold move on the part of the owners of the House of the Faun. It might have been a political statement, that they supported Alexander's ideals, or just a conversation piece for when important guests were received, signalling the owner's apparent knowledge of the most important event in Greek history. However, Kuttner suggests that the mosaic is a clear "statement about participation in the eastern wars by a very wealthy Oscan knight who installed this splendid copy of a painting..."²⁴⁸ The *triclinium* east of the *exedra* contained a mosaic of a lion but was in such a ruined condition it was never taken to the MANN.²⁴⁹ The lion might symbolise Alexander who wore lion skin on his shoulders in the Alexander mosaic.

The *exedra* has four mosaics, consisting of a Hellenistic Egyptian theme, and were made with great detail and with expensive materials in various colours. Not only does the Alexander mosaic comply with all the parameters but it is one of the largest mosaics found in Pompeii, which says much about the owner's status and wealth.

5.3.2.7 *Cubiculum*

The *cubiculum* was one of the rooms with the least resident-stranger interaction levels, although it was not as secluded as, for example, the kitchen. Thus, as these

²⁴⁵ Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 18.

²⁴⁶ Most authors mention and/or give a basic description of the mosaic (in terms of its theme, size, and preservation) and always refer to it as the most "famous mosaic": Clarke (1991: 41), Clarke (2003: 247), Dwyer (2001: 329-339), Ramage & Ramage (2015: 73-74), Strong (1976: 56, 72), Tuck (2015: 95), Zanker (1998: 39-40). Dobbins & Gruber (2010: 1-8) re-examined the Alexander mosaic by creating 3D computer models to understand the original lighting conditions.

²⁴⁷ Zanker (1998: 40) suggests the battle of Gaugamela. The battle of Issus, 333 BCE, took place in southern Anatolia (Turkey) before Alexander besieged Egypt. After establishing Alexandria in Egypt, Alexander battled Darius III again, in 331 BCE, in Gaugamela (Iraqi Kurdistan) (Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 20). See Cooley & Cooley (2014: 20-21) on discussing Quintus Curtius Rufus' (History of Alexander 3.11.7-12) account of the Battle of Issus.

²⁴⁸ Kuttner, 2004: 307.

²⁴⁹ Mau, 1899: 289.

rooms were mainly for residents it was rare to find extravagant decoration. *Cubicula* often had simple wall and floor decorations to indicate furniture locations, such as white mosaics on the floor to indicate where bedroom furniture stood. A narrow niche was made in the wall and the floor was slightly elevated to indicate the location of the bed.²⁵⁰ Second Style wall paintings had pilasters against the back wall of the room to indicate bed locations.²⁵¹ The room (room 13) on the east side of the *atrium* has white mosaic lines visible on two sides, which might indicate that there were two beds in this room.²⁵²

Nymph and satyr mosaic

One of the *cubicula* (room 13) contained a mosaic with a nymph and satyr (Figure 5.31) (37x39 cm).²⁵³ Satyrs were Dionysus's male companions,²⁵⁴ with goat-like features. They wandered the mountains and woods and made music. Furthermore, they were associated with fertility and often sexually targeted maenads.²⁵⁵ Despite the erotic nature of the mosaic, the purpose was not as in brothels to indicate sexual positions. Erotic scenes, mostly wall paintings, were often found in *cubicula* of the wealthy to create the illusion of an art collection or *pinacotheca*.²⁵⁶ A similar mosaic was found in a *cubiculum* of the House of Menander,²⁵⁷ and a similar Greek work was found in Egypt.²⁵⁸ However small, this mosaic was executed with great artistry and precision so that shadows and muscles are visible on the satyr, hence this was probably an expensive piece.

²⁵⁰ Mau, 1899: 285. Furniture will be discussed in the following chapters.

²⁵¹ Mau, 1899: 250.

²⁵² Personal observation at House of the Faun, Pompeii.

²⁵³ MANN inv. 27707.

²⁵⁴ Sparkes, 2011: 143. The faun was considered to be similar to satyrs, thus connecting the "satyr" imagery in the house with the faun statue in the *atrium*.

²⁵⁵ Roman & Roman, 2010: 172.

²⁵⁶ Clarke, 1998: 147.

²⁵⁷ Clarke, 1998: 136.

²⁵⁸ Westgate, 2000a: 266.

5.3.2.8 Service areas

Service areas and kitchens, with the least resident-stranger interaction, were often plainly decorated or left undecorated as to disappear into the background.²⁵⁹ Guests were not allowed in these areas, thus the need for conspicuousness was unnecessary and it was not decorated. In the House of the Faun there was no decoration in the service area.

5.4 CONCLUSION

As previously established, rooms with high levels of social interaction were more conspicuous in terms of proportion and had Hellenistic public architectural features. This discussion on the “cosmetics” of the house indicates that the rooms in question had conspicuous art according to the level of interaction which took place within them. More symbolic meaning was attached to the rooms with more social interaction and thus these rooms had more opportunity to display conspicuous consumption. Wall art and mosaics were used as the immovable decoration for rooms in the house, although mosaics to a far greater extent. These mosaics were expensive in many ways, in terms of size, time to produce and materials. They also made use of exotic Hellenistic imagery. Even though parts of the House of the Faun have been damaged, it is still very clear that the owners of this house displayed status and wealth through art.

²⁵⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 44.

5.5 IMAGES OF IMMOVABLE DECORATIONS

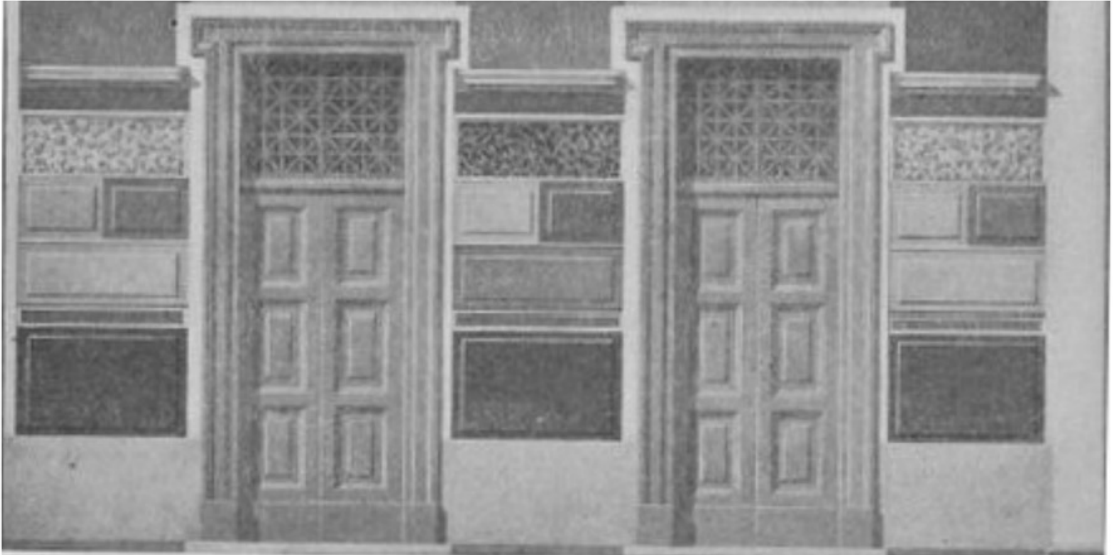


Figure 5.1: Example of the First Style in the House of Sallust (Mau, 1889: 450)



Figure 5.2: Example of the Second Style in the Villa of the Mysteries (Tuck, 2015: 105)

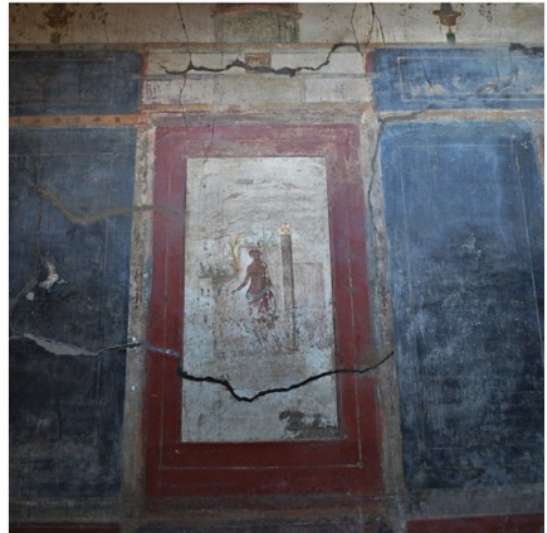


Figure 5.3: Example of the Third Style in the House of the Ceii



Figure 5.4: Example of the Fourth Style in the House of the Prince of Naples



Figure 5.5: Example of the First Style in the *fauces* of the House of the Faun



Figure 5.6: Example of the First Style in the *atrium* of the House of the Faun



Figure 5.8: *Opus incertum* mosaic, west *ala* (room 6) in the House of the Faun



Figure 5.9: *Opus signinum* mosaic, *triclinium* (Room 17) in the House of the Faun

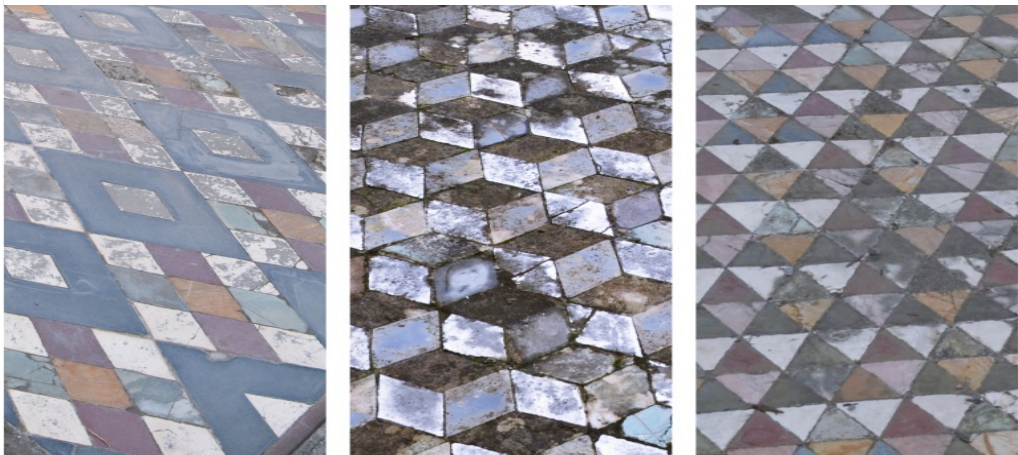


Figure 5.10: *Opus sectile* mosaics in the *impluvium*, *tablinum*, and *fauces* of the House of the Faun



Figure 5.11: Sealing-wax red glass in the House of the Faun



Figure 5.12: a) *HAVE* in front of the House the Faun; b) *HAVE* in the House of the Bear (Clements & Clements, 2017: 2); c) *Cave Canem* in the House of the Tragic Poet; d) *Salve Lucrum* in the House of Siricus (Cooley & Cooley, 2014: 257)

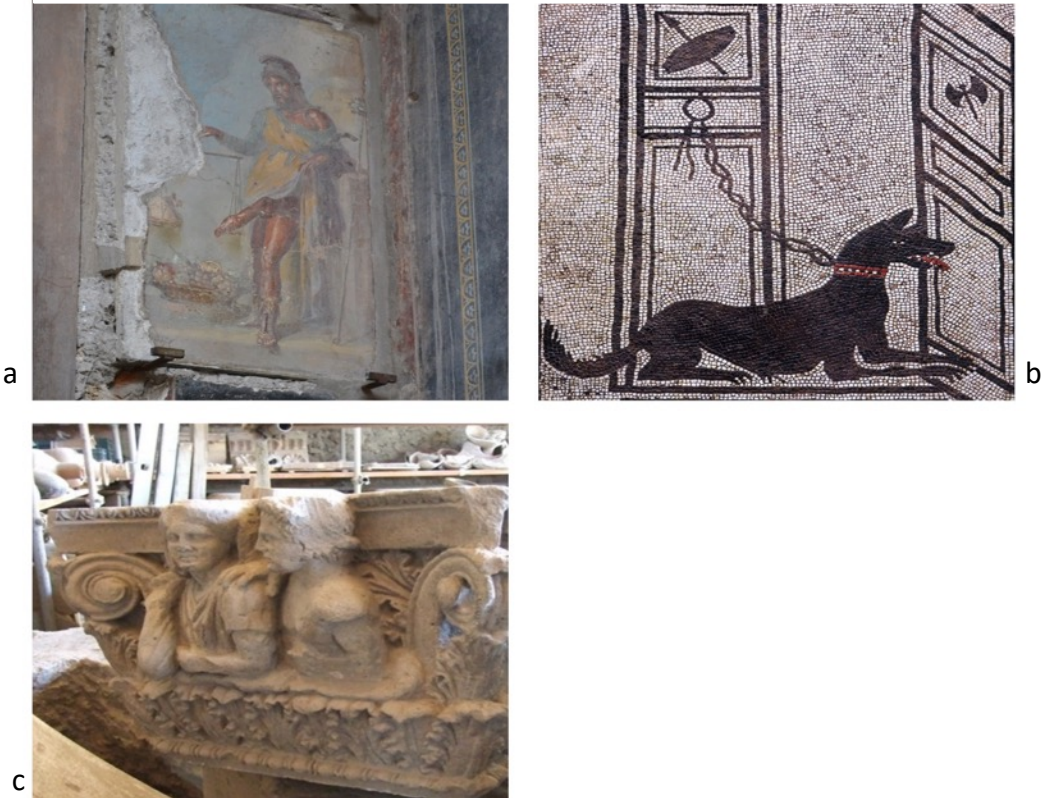


Figure 5.13: a) Priapus in the House of Vettii; b) warning in House of Paquius Proculus (Jashemski, 1978); c) capitals welcoming guests in the House of the Figured Capitals (Dunn & Dunn, 2017: 1)



Figure 5.14: The tragic masks mosaic in the *fauces* of the House of the Faun



a



b

Figure 5.15: Mosaics in the *fauces* of the a) House of the Centenary (Dunn & Dunn, 2017) and b) the House of Paquius Proculus (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 5.16: Details of the tragic masks mosaic in the *fauces* of the House of the Faun



Figure 5.17: *Opus signinum* mosaic in the *atrium* of the House of Paquius Proculus (Clarke, 2009: 330)



Figure 5.18: Marble and stone mosaic in the *impluvium* of the House of the Faun



Figure 5.19: *Opus sectile* mosaic in the *tablinum* of the House of the Faun



a



b

Figure 5.20 The dove mosaic in the west *ala* a) the original and b) the replica *in situ* in the House of the Faun



a



b

Figure 5.21 Mosaics of birds from a) the House of the Labyrinth (MANN, 2017) and b) the House of the Doves



Figure 5.22: Mosaic of animals from the east *ala* in the House of the Faun



a



b

Figure 5.23: Mosaics of animals from a) the House of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and b) a villa in Rome (Nguyen, 2009: 1)



Figure 5.24: The sea animal mosaic from the west *triclinium* in the House of the Faun



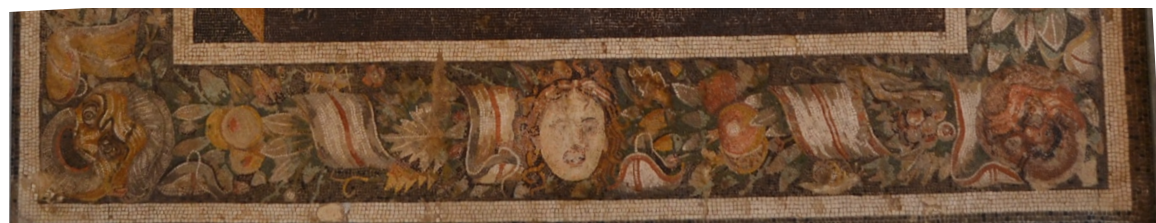
Figure 5.25: Sea mosaic from the House of Geometric Mosaic (Westgate, 2000a: 269)



Figure 5.26: Dionysus riding a tiger, mosaic from the east *triclinium* in the House of the Faun



a



b

Figure 5.27: Garland detail from a) Dionysus riding a tiger in the House of the Faun and b) a mosaic from the House of the Doves



Figure 5.28: Nile ducks at the entrance of the *exedra* in the House of the Faun



Figure 5.29: The Nile mosaic at the entrance of the *exedra* in the House of the Faun



a



b

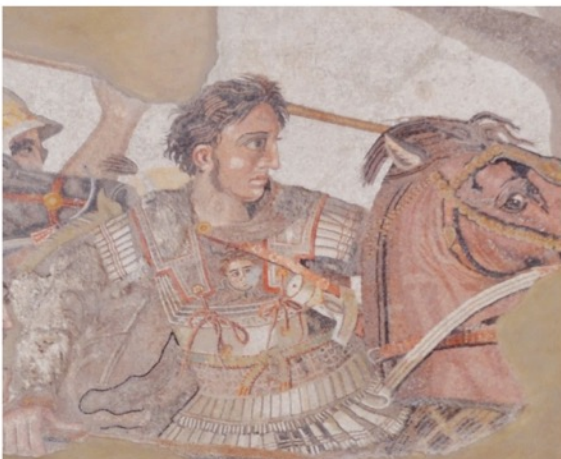


Figure 5.30: The Alexander mosaic from the *exedra* in the House of the Faun a) replica *in situ* and b) the original in the MANN



Figure 5.31: Satyr and maenad in *cubiculum* (room 13) in the House of the Faun

6 MOVABLE DECORATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Besides clothing and cosmetics, women wore jewellery to express their status. Wealthy women wore jewellery from expensive materials, which were often intricately ornamented. Also, jewellery could be moved, reused and exchanged at will, and could be functional as well as decorative. Similarly, furniture and sculptures could be moved, reused and changed, and were used for both functional or decorative purposes, although furniture tended to be both more movable and functional than sculpture.

Similar to wall and floor art, qualities that determined how conspicuous furniture and sculpture was, included how expensive and/or how rare the material was, the quantity of the material used, the size and the intricacy of the design. The quality and artistry of sculptures and furniture was far more important than the quantity of objects.

Very little sculptures and furniture survived in the House of the Faun, thus it is required to look at other similar houses to indicate how furniture and sculptures could have been used in the House of the Faun. Due to the lack of evidence in the House of the Faun, parameters for conspicuous furniture and sculpture will be determined based on finds in other houses and then likely conclusions about the House of the Faun will be extrapolated.

6.2 THE PROBLEM OF PRESERVATION AND LOCATION

Roman furniture has not been studied in much detail as very little has survived the eruption,¹ and it is generally accepted that Roman houses were furnished with only

¹ Ellis, 2000: 145.

the necessary items, although Mols contests the notion that Roman houses were scarcely furnished.² The material of the furniture also determined the preservation of the item.³ Hardly any wooden furniture has been preserved in Pompeii as it either disintegrated when Vesuvius erupted, or any furniture covered in ash decomposed over time. Some bronze tables, chairs, couch fittings and furniture fittings have survived but they are very rare.⁴ Reconstructing wooden furniture is extremely difficult as only small, fragmented pieces of wood have been found, mainly in Herculaneum. Unlike any other Roman town, Herculaneum presents a large collection of preserved furniture, with almost 41 wooden furniture pieces.⁵ Plaster casts were made of vacuums left by wooden furniture in Pompeii, giving only a simplistic representation of furniture.⁶ However, furniture can be identified from art in Roman houses. Pompeian and Herculaneum wall paintings become helpful in this regard. The Simpelveld sarcophagus which displays the inside of a house, also helps in identifying furniture.⁷

Couches, beds, tables and seating, were moved regularly and often cheaply replaced. It is therefore difficult to pinpoint where furniture was used habitually.⁸ Nevertheless, floor art in rooms such as the *triclinium* or *cubiculum* was often designed in such a manner as to indicate where furniture should be located.⁹ In addition, larger pieces such as cupboards, strongboxes, storage units and large marble furniture were presumably not moved as regularly and usually placed in the *atrium* for visitors to see.¹⁰

² Mols, 2008: 150.

³ Mols, 2008: 146.

⁴ Mau, 1899: 361.

⁵ Mols, 1999: 19. Of these 41 pieces, only four pieces of seating have been found; about fifteen storage pieces; six wooden tables and twelve couches and beds; and fragmented pieces from six different furniture pieces (Mols, 1999: 19).

⁶ Mols, 2008: 146.

⁷ Mols, 2008: 147. Also see Ulrich (2007: 218).

⁸ Ellis, 2000: 145.

⁹ Cova, 2013: 385.

¹⁰ Allison, 2009: 271. Also see Cova (2013: 384).

6.3 PARAMETERS FOR MEASURING CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION OF MOVABLE DECORATION IN THE *DOMUS*

6.3.1 Artistic Themes

If Hellenistic and Dionysian themed architecture and art indicated luxury and status, then the same can be said to apply for Hellenistic-styled furniture and sculptures. Pompeian dining couches and tables showed definite Hellenistic influences.¹¹ Imagery often depicted on a *fulcrum* (“head” or “foot board”) included Dionysus-themed images and heads of various animals such as donkeys, horses, mules, ducks, swans, lions, dogs, and elephants. The theme of hunting was depicted on *fulcra* appliques with images of Artemis and/or dogs.¹² Animal or monster forms were often carved into chairs.¹³ Chair legs were sometimes decorated with scroll work, carvings of animals, decorations of wooden mosaic,¹⁴ or lion paws.¹⁵

Intricate mosaic floors and sculptures were the focus of decoration in the *domus* of the wealthy.¹⁶ Aristocrats collected galleries full of decorative statues, often copies of Greek originals,¹⁷ philosophers and writers,¹⁸ animals and athletes.¹⁹ As with mosaics and paintings, sculptures were often Hellenistic in nature,²⁰ and related to the sphere of Dionysus.²¹ Images related to the Dionysus cult, the god himself, maenads, satyrs, Pan and Priapus, were frequently found. Dionysus’s aquatic followers were also depicted in sculpture. For example, nymphs, “sea-nymphs, tritons, sea-centaurs”.²² Gods such as Apollo, Venus, Diana, Cupid, Minerva and

¹¹ Croom, 2007: 19.

¹² Mols, 1999: 104.

¹³ Richter, 1966: 100.

¹⁴ Croom, 2007: 97.

¹⁵ Richter, 1966: 104.

¹⁶ Strong, 1976: 44.

¹⁷ See Stewart (2003: 231-236) and Gazda (1995: 121-156) on sculptural copying of Greek originals.

¹⁸ Stewart, 2003: 88. Also see Kuttner (2004: 307).

¹⁹ Hodge, 1998: 18.

²⁰ Tuck, 2015: 108.

²¹ Stewart, 2004: 102.

²² Stewart, 2004: 98.

Hermes were more commonly found than Jupiter and Juno.²³ Mau also explains that gardens were lavishly decked with sculptures of many kinds, such as “statuettes, herms, small figures of animals... Figures derived from the myths of Bacchic cycle, Bacchus, Silenus, satyrs, and bacchantes, are particularly common”.²⁴

If one could afford it, busts of philosophers were popular and easily obtainable.²⁵ Identifying with a philosophical school, such as Plato, Socrates, or Aristotle, was important to Romans, and by displaying a bust one identified oneself with a school and created a conversation topic with visitors.²⁶ The philosopher, Epicurus, was particularly favoured as he was known to teach his followers in the garden about his philosophy of “the pursuit of happiness through pleasurable retreat”.²⁷ On rare occasions, original Greek sculptures were found.²⁸ However, copies of these exclusive Greek masterpieces were created which made them more affordable and obtainable, although still providing the owner with the status connected to the sculpture.²⁹

Romans were more concerned with quality than theme, and sculptures of good quality were difficult to find, therefore, sculptures were not really collected according to a theme, as with wall paintings.³⁰ Sculptures were more often placed in an area to create context for that room, much like wall paintings and mosaics. Two of the same sculpture or same theme could be placed together in an area, for example in front of an entranceway or passageway.³¹ The main function of sculptures was to create a focus point in an area or room and to emphasise the existing décor.³²

²³ Stewart, 2003: 249. Also see Bartman (2010: 75).

²⁴ Mau, 1899: 440.

²⁵ Stewart, 2004: 101.

²⁶ Ellis, 2000: 135.

²⁷ Stewart, 2004: 101.

²⁸ Stewart, 2003: 231.

²⁹ Bartman, 2010: 71.

³⁰ Ellis, 2000: 135.

³¹ Ellis, 2000: 135.

³² Ellis, 2000: 136.

6.3.2 Expensive Materials and Skilful Workmanship

Jewellery and immovable art of the wealthy were mostly made from expensive and rare materials, and so too was the case with the movable decorations of furniture and sculptures. The quality of pieces in terms of both materials and workmanship, which could also be called artistry, was more important than the number of pieces owned.

6.3.2.1 Furniture

Furniture was functional and simple in design; however, furniture of the wealthy also had intricate decorations and was made of expensive materials.³³ Couches made of ivory, tables of citrus wood, silver ware, and purple soft-furnishings, were repeatedly mentioned in ancient literature as luxury furniture elements.³⁴ The type of wood used for a piece of furniture together with the quality of carving and additional decoration, such as gold and ivory, determined the value of a piece.³⁵ Citrus wood (Plin. *HN* 13.30) and maple wood (Plin. *HN* 16.26) were the most luxurious woods used for furniture. Both of these woods had highly prized dramatic grains.³⁶ Citrus wood that had the colour of “wine mixed with honey” was more expensive than other colours (Plin. *HN* 13.30). The lighter the colour of the maple wood, the more expensive it was (Plin. *HN* 16.26). Other expensive woods were turpentine wood, walnut wood, and ebony, which was imported from Ethiopia or India.³⁷ Cypress or cedar, the most valuable woods, with intricate carvings and decorations in gold or ivory increased its value and made the furniture piece more conspicuous and suitable for the elite.³⁸

³³ Mols, 2008: 148. Other smaller objects from bone, ivory, and bronze have been found in large quantities; for example, toilet objects, lamp stands, kitchen and dining utensils (Mau, 1899: 362).

³⁴ Croom, 2007: 169.

³⁵ Bunson, 2002: 222.

³⁶ “The three most prized grain patterns were called ‘tiger wood’ (wavy lines), ‘panther’ (twisted spiral patterns) and ‘peacock’ (eyes)” (Croom, 2007: 20).

³⁷ Croom, 2007: 21. Cheap wood for everyday furniture included beech, willow, oak, and silver fir wood (Croom, 2007: 22).

³⁸ Bunson, 2002: 222.

Marble furniture, such as tables and benches, often had intricate carved decoration and were exhibited in public spaces. Serving tables and benches could also be made from stone and marble found locally, like bath-stone, sandstone, and Purbeck marble. Stools, tripod tables, and less often benches could be made entirely from bronze. Bronze was mostly used together with wood or marble.³⁹ Extravagantly formed bed and couch legs were made from wood and/or iron, covered with a thin sheet of decorative bronze. The *fulcra* of beds and couches were often highly intricate bronze appliques.⁴⁰

Gold and silver was used mainly as decorations and appliques, and furniture was infrequently completely made from either of these materials.⁴¹ Tables of solid silver have been mentioned in the *Satyrica* (Petron. *Sat.* 37). Some *triclinium* couches were decorated with gold appliques; however, ivory and citrus wood was preferred to gold ornamentations.⁴² Ivory and bone were used rather as ornamental veneers than inlays in wood.⁴³ Bone was the cheaper alternative to the luxurious ivory.⁴⁴ Other veneers were made from tusks, horn, and tortoise shell (Plin. *HN* 16.84).⁴⁵ Furniture of wood and stone was often painted to look like turpentine wood, maple wood, and citrus wood,⁴⁶ thus being the less expensive alternative.

6.3.2.2 Statuary

Stewart explains that statues are “...free-standing sculptural representations of full figures, life-size or larger...”.⁴⁷ He also discusses the difference between *simulacrum*, *signum*, and *statua*, which was used by Romans to distinguish between types of

³⁹ Croom, 2007: 23.

⁴⁰ Mols, 1999: 100.

⁴¹ Croom, 2007: 24.

⁴² Croom, 2007: 30.

⁴³ Croom, 2007: 28. Also see Mols (1999: 105-109).

⁴⁴ Mols, 1999: 105.

⁴⁵ Also see Croom (2007: 27).

⁴⁶ Croom, 2007: 30.

⁴⁷ Stewart, 2003: 19.

sculptures.⁴⁸ Sculptures of white marble, bronze, and coloured marble were very popular amongst the wealthy and were the most important design element after paintings and mosaics.⁴⁹

6.3.3 Furniture Pieces Typically Found in the *Domus*

6.3.3.1 *Atrium and tablinum*

The display of furniture along the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis was also influenced by the importance of these spaces.⁵⁰ The *atrium* was probably the most important social space within the house, with various purposes and social activities taking place. These social activities also required storage, for example storing of documents, tools, food, money, and valuable items,⁵¹ thus, chests, cupboards, even *amphorae* were often found in the *atrium*, not only lavish furniture.⁵²

Furniture, such as tables and benches, of marble were mostly displayed in the *atrium* or *peristylum* to signal the owner's status and wealth.⁵³ Infrequently moved items, such as the *arca* ("strongbox" or "safe") and *cartibulum* (the marble "table" at the end of the *impluvium*), were usually found in the *atrium*.⁵⁴ The *arca* which contained family records, has been found in about ten Pompeian houses (Figure 6.1).⁵⁵ The *cartibulum* was used by the *paterfamilias* for placing documents on when receiving *clientes*, according to Ellis.⁵⁶ A few marble *cartibula* can still be seen *in situ*, for example in the House of Casca Longus (I.6.11) (Figure 6.2).

⁴⁸ Stewart, 2003: 22.

⁴⁹ Stewart, 2004: 9. Also see Strong (1976: 44) and Tuck (2015: 111).

⁵⁰ Nevett, 2010: 111.

⁵¹ Cova, 2013: 375.

⁵² Allison, 2009: 271.

⁵³ Croom, 2007: 23.

⁵⁴ Ellis, 2000: 146. Presumably, these pieces were not moved often, judging by their size and material (mostly marble) they must have been extremely heavy.

⁵⁵ Ellis, 2000: 146. A reconstructed *arca* from the House of the Vettii can be seen in the MANN (Personal observation).

⁵⁶ Ellis, 2000: 146.

The chair of the *paterfamilias* was the *solium* (“throne”),⁵⁷ and the *cathedra* (“chair” with arms and back) was very prestigious in the domestic context.⁵⁸ A *solium* could be made in one of three designs. The Hellenistic style *solium*, with turned legs, displayed true extravagance with its intricate legs and armrests (Figure 6.3).⁵⁹ The rectangular-legged *solium*, had “carved-out incisions” and can hardly be distinguished from its Greek precursor. The back of the chair varied in height, as did the shape of the arm rests, with protruding curved legs. The Roman *solium* with solid sides, was made more extravagantly and visually heavier than the Greek original.⁶⁰ This form of the *solium* had a rectangular or rounded back with solid sides, with carved animal or monster forms.⁶¹ The *cathedra* is referred to as the chair with a back and was a heavier version of the Hellenistic *klismos*.⁶² The back board of the chair was arched outward with four outward curving legs.⁶³ This chair was mainly reserved for women and important guests.⁶⁴

Various types of stools were used, of which the *sella curulis* (“folding stool”) was the most popular. The *sella* had crossed outward curving legs (Figure 6.4).⁶⁵ Legs were sometimes decorated with silver or gold appliques. The *sella* was made from iron, bronze, or wood ideal for a light folding stool.⁶⁶ Benches, on the other hand, were uncomfortable and only used by the lower classes. The *scamnum* (“footstool”) was popular mainly due to other furniture being high off the ground and a footstool being

⁵⁷ Bunson, 2002: 222. “The Latin *solium* is considered in some cases an equivalent to the Greek term *thronos* and is thus commonly translated as ‘throne’” (Ulrich, 2007: 215).

⁵⁸ Ulrich, 2007: 215.

⁵⁹ Richter, 1966: 98.

⁶⁰ Richter, 1966: 99.

⁶¹ Richter, 1966: 100.

⁶² Richter, 1966: 101.

⁶³ Richter, 1966: 102.

⁶⁴ Bunson, 2002: 222. Also see Dunbabin (2003: 252) and Andrianou (2006: 259).

⁶⁵ Richter, 1966: 103.

⁶⁶ Croom, 2007: 97.

needed. Often the legs were curved with carvings of lion paws,⁶⁷ and could be decorated with bone and glass.⁶⁸

6.3.3.2 *Triclinium, exedra and cubiculum*

Different types of beds, also referred to as couches, have been found in Herculaneum such as the three-sided, high board bed, a baby cradle, *triclinium* couches and *biclinia*.⁶⁹ The *lectus*, used as either a bed or a couch, was present in *cubicula* and *triclinia*. Beds used in the *cubiculum* were known as *lectus cubicularis* and was similar to the *triclinium* couches.⁷⁰ Couches not used in the *triclinium* usually had both head and foot boards. The *fulcrum* of the *lectus* was commonly made in bronze, and less frequently in bone, silver, and ivory (Figure 6.5). Dionysus or Artemis-themed images were often depicted on the *fulcrum*.⁷¹ Lavishly decorated couches such as these were the most expensive items found in a *domus*.⁷²

The *lectus* used in the *triclinium*, *lectus tricliniaris*, was made from wood with bronze fittings⁷³ or had stonework foundations⁷⁴ and was about 1.2 meters by 2.4 meters,⁷⁵ and the couch height differed.⁷⁶ Usually, only the metal parts of these couches have been found and reconstructed thereafter (Figure 6.6).⁷⁷ The typical arrangement of the *lecti tricliniaries*, was in a u-shape with the fourth side left open for the servants to enter to serve meals.⁷⁸ If one stood in the opening of the u-shape, the couch on the right was the *lectus summus*, the *lectus medius* was in the middle, and on the left

⁶⁷ Richter, 1966: 104.

⁶⁸ Richter, 1966: 105.

⁶⁹ Mols, 2008: 149.

⁷⁰ Ulrich, 2007: 323.

⁷¹ Mols, 1999: 104.

⁷² Richter, 1966: 107. Also see Croom (2007: 29).

⁷³ Ellis, 2000: 148.

⁷⁴ Ellis, 2000: 149.

⁷⁵ Mols, 2008: 155.

⁷⁶ Richter, 1966: 106.

⁷⁷ Richter, 1966: 105.

⁷⁸ Durant, 1971: 376.

was the *lectus imus*.⁷⁹ A *lectus* was most often large enough for three lounging individuals, reclining on their left side on cushions.

Only the *lectus summus* and *imus* had *fulcra*, as these prevented the mattress from slipping off, thus the middle *lectus* did not need *fulcra* because it was secured between the other two *lecti* (Figure 6.7).⁸⁰ Couches were very ornate with inlay work and bone or bronze decorations, some even with tortoiseshell. The legs had multiple turnings in various shapes. Couches of extravagance were made very rarely with plated silver and even completely from silver or gold, the only pieces of such couches to have survived. The cordings used for the bedframe were possibly made from leather.⁸¹ Floor and wall designs often indicated furniture locations, similar to in the *cubiculum*.⁸²

The *mensa delphica* (small “tripod table”), made of wood or metal, stood in between the *triclinium* couches for food to be served on (Figure 6.11).⁸³ The legs often had animal heads carved into them.⁸⁴ Tripods found in wealthy houses were frequently made of ivory and citrus-wood, which were expensive materials (Figure 6.8).⁸⁵ Effectively the table stood on the *emblema*, which was in the middle of the *triclinium*.⁸⁶ The tripod with a round table-top had intricately designed legs in the shape of animal paws, most often with an animal head above the paw design.⁸⁷ A delicate *mensa* was found in the House of Julia Felix, with the legs in the shape of paws with satyrs placed above it (Figure 6.9).⁸⁸ The *mensa* found in the Temple of Isis

⁷⁹ Clarke, 2003: 224.

⁸⁰ Mols (1999: 103) discussing Mau (1896: 76-82).

⁸¹ Richter, 1966: 106. Also see Ransom (1905: 32-38) on couches.

⁸² Mau, 1899: 258.

⁸³ Mols, 1999: 128.

⁸⁴ Croom, 2007: 69.

⁸⁵ Croom, 2007: 70.

⁸⁶ Mols, 2008: 156.

⁸⁷ Richter, 1966: 111.

⁸⁸ Richter, 1966: 112.

(VIII.7.28), had an intricate sphinx design, with fine garlands and several faces, and was made from bronze (Figure 6.10).

Other than the small tripod table, there was about four other types of tables all based on Greek prototypes, according to Richter; a tripod with a rectangular top; a rectangular top with four legs; a single leg with a round or rectangular top; and a rectangular top with two decorated slabs at each end of the table.⁸⁹

The four-legged rectangular table had simple legs often shaped after animal paws or had rich ornamental decorations, such as the table legs found in the House of the Faun (Figure 6.12).⁹⁰ The table with a single leg had either a round or rectangular top and was mostly made of marble with bronze trimmings, and was a very luxurious item. The leg could also be shaped into impressive designs (Figure 6.13). The last type of table was mainly used outdoors and had a rectangular top, from wood or marble, with two solid legs the width of the table, of marble (Figure 6.14). Again, images of animals or creatures were crafted into the legs of the table.⁹¹

According to Mols, wooden furniture had a utilitarian function and was not used to show social status, unlike bronze and marble. However, the *triclinium* was furnished with wood even though it was a social area receiving many guests.⁹²

6.3.4 Sculpture Collections

A few houses did have large collections of similar themes and therefore this also needs to be considered as a form of conspicuous consumption. The House of the Vettii and the House of the Golden Cupids (VI.16.7) were not exceptionally large houses but they have an extensive and almost complete surviving set of garden

⁸⁹ Richter, 1966: 110.

⁹⁰ Richter, 1966: 111.

⁹¹ Richter, 1966: 112.

⁹² Mols, 2008: 150.

sculptures. The House of Octavius Quartio also had a large collection of sculptures.⁹³ Sculptures tend to have especially been used as decoration in gardens.⁹⁴

The House of the Golden Cupids is smaller than the House of the Faun and the House of the Vettii. This garden was decorated in great style with a large pool,⁹⁵ two fountains, and 21 ornamental pieces (Figure 7.15). These pieces were of great quality and included seven herms (three were double headed), four sculptured supports holding marble reliefs, marble masks and two marble disks were hung in between columns,⁹⁶ and lastly small statuettes of a dog, a rabbit, and a boar with a dog.⁹⁷ The Dionysus cult theme was visible on many objects, including the herms, with images of Dionysus himself, Silenus, Ariadne and Jupiter,⁹⁸ the marble reliefs with images of satyrs, Silenus, and pine cones, and the marble disks, with images of centaurs and maenads. Tragic and comic theatrical masks are also represented on various of the ornaments.⁹⁹

Not only was there a great quantity of excellent quality sculpture in this garden but they followed a Hellenistic theme.¹⁰⁰ The owner of this house wanted to make it clear that he had a great knowledge of Greek art and theatre¹⁰¹ and embraced the Hellenistic palace and banqueting lifestyle,¹⁰² and with this, established the illusion of luxury and status.¹⁰³

⁹³ Scholars have made extensive studies on this house and its sculptures. See Tronchin (2011: 33-49), Clarke (1991: 193-207) and Zanker (1998: 145-156) on discussions of sculptures found in the House of Octavius Quartio.

⁹⁴ Stewart (2003: 19) explains that statues are "...free-standing sculptural representations of full figures, life-size or larger..." He also discusses the difference between *simulacrum*, *signum*, and *statua*, which was used by Romans to distinguish between types of sculptures (Stewart, 2003: 22).

⁹⁵ Zanker, 1998: 169.

⁹⁶ Jashemski, 1993: 38.

⁹⁷ Jashemski, 1993: 40.

⁹⁸ Zanker, 1998: 169.

⁹⁹ Jashemski, 1993: 40. In-between the sculptures there were also tables, a sundial, a basin of a fountain and pieces of a candelabrum (Zanker, 1998: 170).

¹⁰⁰ Little, 1945: 137.

¹⁰¹ Jashemski, 1993: 38.

¹⁰² Métraux, 1999: 395.

¹⁰³ Métraux, 1999: 397.

The House of the Vettii belonged to newly rich former slaves,¹⁰⁴ and was about 2.4 times smaller than the House of the Faun but had a magnificent garden. No other garden in Pompeii had as many ornaments and fountain statues as this garden (Figure 7.16). The garden was surrounded by eighteen fluted columns, and contained eight marble basins, twelve fountain statues, of which three are lost,¹⁰⁵ two small, ground-level fountains, various garden furniture, and two marble herms with double busts. Only two of the fountain sculptures were of bronze, the rest were of marble, but none were of exceptional quality. The sculptures all related to the Dionysus cult theme; with Dionysus himself, satyrs, ivy crowned boys, maenads, Ariadne, and Priapus.¹⁰⁶ The Hellenistic cult theme immediately refers to the Hellenistic palaces, which once again is the owners' way of displaying social status and wealth. Although statues were usually collected according to quality rather than theme,¹⁰⁷ it is however, evident in the House of the Vettii that sculptures were sometimes collected according to theme, even though they were not of good quality.¹⁰⁸ The newly rich owners wanted to create an illusion of luxury,¹⁰⁹ which bordered on a "vulgar expression of status",¹¹⁰ with an overtly decorated garden in the Dionysus theme,¹¹¹ and in order to do so had to settle for poorer quality and less expensive, although not necessarily cheap, sculptures. In this way, these freedmen established their involvement in the political and social sphere.¹¹² Tronchin explains this phenomenon perfectly, stating that "[t]he sculptural collection functioned as a means of self-definition through stereotypical imagery that suggested inclusion in the economic and cultural upper classes of Pompeii - or pretensions of that status".¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ Stewart, 2004: 91.

¹⁰⁵ Jashemski, 1993: 35.

¹⁰⁶ Stewart, 2004: 99.

¹⁰⁷ Ellis, 2000: 135.

¹⁰⁸ Jashemski, 1993: 38.

¹⁰⁹ Clarke, 1991: 210.

¹¹⁰ Stewart, 2004: 90.

¹¹¹ Métraux, 1999: 397. Also see Clarke (1991: 208).

¹¹² Tronchin, 2011: 34.

¹¹³ Tronchin, 2011: 35.

6.4 MOVABLE DECORATION IN THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN

The House of the Faun did not have many remains in terms of furniture and sculptures, but this does not imply they were not present before the eruption. Based on the parameters established it can be speculated what type of furniture would have been in the House of the Faun based on other evidence throughout the house as discussed in the previous chapters.

Four marble table legs (inv. 53396) and a marble sphinx table support (inv. 6869), which were both highly luxurious, were found in the second *peristylum*. It is therefore highly possible that intricately designed furniture of the highest of quality, such as marble tables, ivory couches, citrus wood tables, silver ware, and purple soft-furnishings, were used in this house.¹¹⁴ Either of the *atria* would have had an *arca* and a *cartibulum*. The *paterfamilias* would have had at least one *solium* and/or *cathedra*, made from citrus or maple wood, because both were symbols of status and luxury. Frequently found pieces like the *sella* and *scamnum* would have been present but made from expensive materials like solid bronze.

Beds and couches would have been present in the *triclinium*, *exedra*, and *cubiculum*. Furniture was frequently moved where needed, but because the owners of this house could afford four *triclinia* and an *exedra* it is possible that they could afford more than one set of *lecti tricliniaries*. *Lecti* found in the *triclinia* and *exedra* would have been made from a more expensive wood, such as citrus-wood, with intricate appliques from gold or silver. Intricately designed gold or bronze *mensae* would have been used in the *triclinium*. The *lectus cubicularis* would have been a cheaper material with less intricate designs because it was used mainly by residents.

Considering the Hellenistic, Egyptian, and Dionysian themes in the architecture and immovable art in the House, there is a high likelihood that applied or carved designs on furniture would have been in these themes, as seen with the sphinx table

¹¹⁴ Croom, 2007: 169.

leg. The bronze dancing faun sculpture was found in the *impluvium* of the larger *atrium* (Figure 4.13) and a statue of an *epebos* (“young adolescent”) (inv. 264923) was found in the second *peristylum* (Figure 7.13).¹¹⁵ The faun statue seems to be dancing in religious ecstasy, which was common in Dionysian rituals. Both sculptures were made with great skill and precision.¹¹⁶ When considering these statues together with the mosaics found in the house, they clearly refer to Dionysus and the luxurious Hellenistic banqueting lifestyle.¹¹⁷

Though not many sculptures were found, the *epebos* statue could also have been of greater value than all the sculptures combined in the House of the Vettii, as quality and not quantity was the major determining factor for conspicuous sculptures. The House of the Faun was considerably larger than the House of the Vettii and the House of the Golden Cupids. It also had much larger *peristylum* gardens. It is possible that the owners of the smaller houses displayed their conspicuous consumption through an excessive use of sculptures, especially garden sculpture to compensate for their smaller, less conspicuous gardens. It is also possible that the owners of the House of the Vettii and the House of the Golden Cupids were not as wealthy as the owner of the House of the Faun, and in an attempt to convey the same level of social status, they used cheaper sculptures but in excess to appear wealthier than they were. Thus, they were displaying a form of the “bandwagon” effect by trying to replace quality with quantity. In turn the owners of the House of the Faun may well have been displaying a form of the “snob” effect by choosing quality over quantity.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Like jewellery, furniture was movable and was made from expensive materials and intricate designs. Except for the marble table legs and the marble sphinx table

¹¹⁵ MANN, inv. 264923.

¹¹⁶ According to the MANN (2017) the faun mosaic was probably produced in Alexandria, where two replicas of the faun were discovered.

¹¹⁷ Stewart, 2004: 98, 103.

support, it is unclear what specific furniture was used in the House of the Faun. However, a speculation can be made based on the parameters set out, the two sumptuous furniture finds and other conspicuous features already identified within the house. It is therefore highly probable that most of the furniture in this house was of the same high quality and expensive materials. In the case of the House of the Vettii, the owners attempted to over display their new-found status which also influenced the amount of sculptures in the garden.

6.6 IMAGES OF MOVABLE DECORATION



Figure 6.1: *Arca* found in the *atrium* of the House of the Vettii



a



b

Figure 6.2: *Cartibulum* from the House of Casca Longus a) table *in situ*; b) name imprint on table



a



b

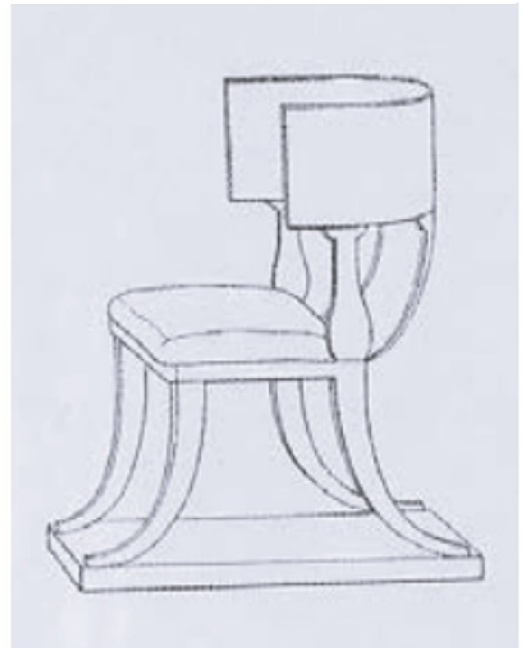


c

Figure 6.3: Example of a *solium*; a) Sempelveld Sarcophagus (Ulrich, 2007: 218); b) *solium* in the Sempelveld Sarcophagus (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden); c) Venus sitting on a *solium*, Casa della Farnesina (Unknown, 2012: 1)



a



b

Figure 6.4: Examples of a *cathedra*; a) Fresco in the House of Menander; b) drawing of *sella*



Figure 6.5: Reconstructed bronze *fulcrum* (Dunn & Dunn: 2017)

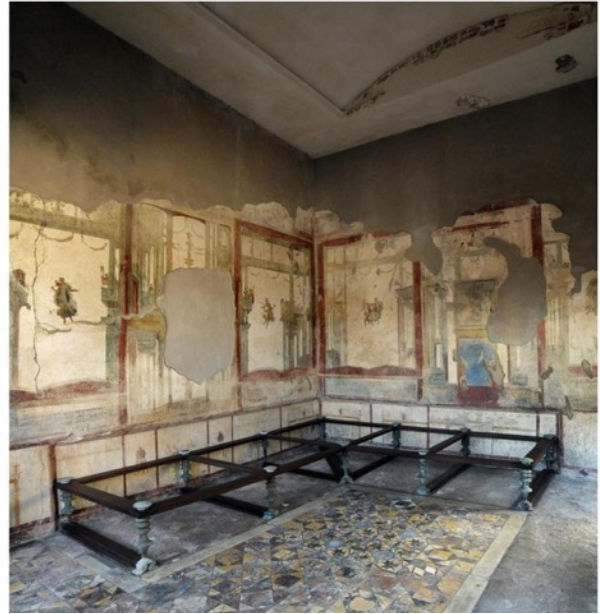


Figure 6.6: Couch in the House of Ephebe (Dunn & Dunn: 2017)



Figure 6.7: Possible recreation of how *triclinium* couches were used (Unknown, 2006)



a



b

Figure 6.8: Reconstructed *lectus* a) with two *fulcra* (The Walters Art Museum); b) with one *fulcrum* in the MANN



Figure 6.9: *Mensa* from the House of Julia Felix with satyr depictions in the MANN

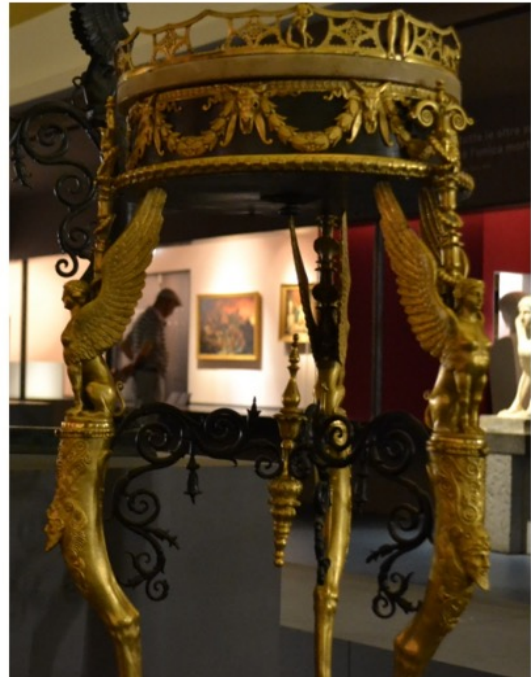


Figure 6.10: *Mensa* from the Temple of Isis, with sphinxes and elaborate decorations in the MANN



Figure 6.11: Example of a folding table in a fresco in a *thermopolium* (I.8.8)



Figure 6.12: Marble table legs found in the second *peristylum* of the House of the Faun, now in the MANN

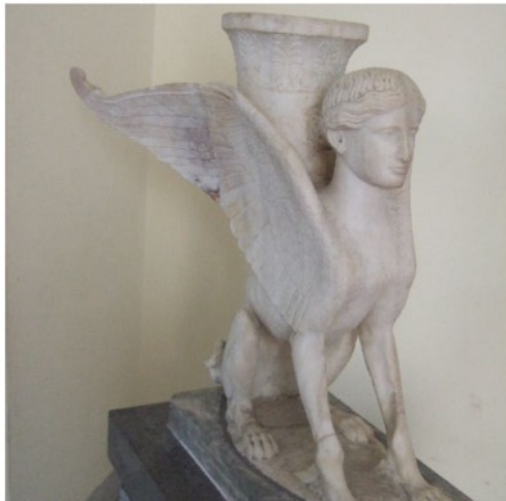


Figure 6.13: Sphinx shaped table leg found in the second *peristylum* of the House of the Faun, now in the MANN (Dunn & Dunn: 2017)



Figure 6.14: *Cartibulum* in the House of the Iron Hearth (VI.15.8)

7 NATURAL DECORATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Lastly, a woman styled and adorned her naturally occurring decoration, her hair, in a manner specific to her social status. Equally the elements of a garden were styled and equipped according to the owner's status. Natural elements, such as plants and water, were used in various ways to display conspicuous consumption. In particular the use of water in the house and garden was a highly visible status symbol,¹ which usually went hand in hand with the display of water using fountains, pools, fishponds, private baths, and a water supply through piping.² Parameters will once again be established in order to help identify conspicuous consumption in the House of the Faun.

7.2 PARAMETERS FOR NATURAL DECORATIONS

7.2.1 Plants

Plants in houses occurred only in gardens. Plants in the *peristylum* garden were mostly planted in a formal design with a small reed railing surrounding the garden. Pollen and carbonized wood,³ and archaeobotanical macro-remains, like fruits and seeds, provide information about plants at the time of the eruption.⁴ Examination of art, ancient literary sources and graffiti inscriptions also help in identifying plants.⁵ To keep their aesthetic appeal gardens had to be green all year and evergreens such myrtle, laurel, rosemary and ivy were planted. Olive trees were extensively planted,

¹ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 695.

² Semple (1929: 436-411) discusses ancient pleasure gardens found in the Mediterranean, including Roman pleasure gardens.

³ Jashemski, 2009: 492.

⁴ Pagnoux *et al.*, 2013: 1. For the morphological discussion of citron, lemon, orange, lime, quince, apple, pear, whitebeam and service tree, see Pagnoux *et al.*, 2013: 1-18.

⁵ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 84.

and the oil was also used in perfume making. Perfumes were made from flowers, so most gardens had a variety of flowers.⁶ As the need for luxury spread amongst the wealthy so did the need for flowers in private gardens.⁷ Seasonal flowers such as daisies, lilies, and roses were often found.⁸ Zanker mentions costly plants being planted in extravagant gardens, however he did not mention which plants were considered expensive and luxurious.⁹

The *Citrus* tree was exotic and possibly expensive to obtain.¹⁰ *Citrus* originally spread from southwest China and northeast India towards the Mediterranean.¹¹ *Citrus* pollen found in Pompeii, in the House of Mars and Venus (VII.9.47),¹² has been dated to the first century CE. A mineralized seed, also from this house, dates to c. 150 BCE. *Citrus* wood has been found at a villa in Oplontis.¹³ Attempts had been made to cultivate *Citrus* in south Italy as early as the sixth century BCE.¹⁴ Several wall frescoes have been identified throughout Pompeii depicting *Citrus*, as in the House of the Fruit Orchard. The accuracy of these paintings implies that the artists had seen the plants and thus the *Citrus*, although scarce, must have grown in Pompeii by 79 CE.¹⁵ Specifically, lemons and citron were found in Pompeii and were mainly used for their “medicinal, odoriferous or symbolic” properties and not for eating.¹⁶

7.2.2 Water and Piping

An important aspect in the Roman *domus* was water. Household activities such as cooking and cleaning required water. The prosperity of a garden also depended on a

⁶ Jashemski, 2009: 496.

⁷ Semple, 1929: 436.

⁸ Jashemski, 2009: 496.

⁹ Zanker, 1998: 168.

¹⁰ Jashemski, 2009: 490. Also see Pagnoux *et al.* (2013: 2).

¹¹ Pagnoux *et al.*, 2013: 2. Also see Scora (1975: 369-375) for the origins of citrus.

¹² Mariotti Lippi (2000) refers to *Casa delle Nozze di Ercole ed Ebe*, and Pagnoux *et al.* (2013: 5) and Langgut (2017: 817) to the House of Hercules and Ebe’s Wedding.

¹³ Pagnoux *et al.*, 2013: 5.

¹⁴ Pagnoux *et al.*, 2013: 6.

¹⁵ Langgut, 2017: 819.

¹⁶ Pagnoux *et al.*, 2013: 16.

sufficient amount of water.¹⁷ As water was not easily attainable, a constant water supply within a house was considered a “highly visible status symbol”.¹⁸ Houses similar to the House of the Faun had cisterns under the *impluvium*, and wells for functional water uses such as washing,¹⁹ whereas the rest of the public had to make use of public fountains.²⁰ Water was distributed by an aqueduct²¹ to Pompeii’s *castellum aquae* (“water tower”) from which water was dispersed to private users, public baths, and street fountains with the use of lead pipes.²² Public baths and street fountains received priority for water supply.²³ Only a select few houses had the privilege of having water supplied directly to them.²⁴ Some lead pipes have been preserved,²⁵ but mostly the pipe impressions are still visible in foundations.²⁶ Other than the rainwater from the cistern under the *impluvium* (Figure 7.1), and receiving water by lead pipes, water could be collected from deep wells.²⁷

Before the use of pressurized water and the possibility of decorative water features, water usage was purely functional and underground water cisterns provided domestic water needs. With the arrival of the new *castellum aquae* that provided pressurized water in 27 BCE, private baths and other water features became more popular.²⁸ Most of the private baths have been dated between 40-20 BCE.²⁹ This indicates the true wealth of owners who possessed such facilities before the

¹⁷ Some larger properties also needed water for “luxury crops” which included turtle doves and thrushes, fishponds, and flowers specifically for perfumes (Bannon, 2009: 7).

¹⁸ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 695. Natural water sources (“springs, streams, wells”) that was present on a private estate were the property of that owner and hence fell under private property laws. Aqueducts and rivers for example were considered to be public (Bannon, 2009: 13).

¹⁹ Sear, 2006: 163. Sear (2006) did a very technical inspection of the water systems (cisterns, drainage, and lavatories) of three houses (House of the Coloured Capital, House of the Figured Capitals, and House of the Ancient Hunt).

²⁰ Ellis, 2000: 136. Also see Connolly (1990: 20).

²¹ Keenan-Jones *et al.*, 2011: 132.

²² Hodge, 1996: 261.

²³ Connolly, 1990: 20.

²⁴ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 695, 698.

²⁵ Keenan-Jones *et al.*, 2011: 131.

²⁶ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 695. For more on lead piping and plumbers in Pompeii, see Bruun (2012).

²⁷ Jansen, 2009: 257.

²⁸ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 696.

²⁹ De Haan, 2001: 46.

aqueducts. The House of the Faun and the House of the Vestals (VI.1.7) had private baths before the arrival of pressurized water.³⁰

Only a certain segment of society, such as the highest aristocracy, could afford a private supply of water to their estates, as it was very costly. This again supports the fact that it was a luxury product.³¹ The House of the Hanging Balcony (VII.12.28) has the only fully preserved water system in Pompeii, complete with lead pipes, fountains and a distribution box (Figure 7.2).³² The percentage of houses connected to the main water supply varies from scholar to scholar, nonetheless, all point to the exclusivity of private water supply.³³ Creating a wasteful use for water with, for example, fountains, shows that the owners could afford a constant flow of water without re-using it. Fish ponds were especially popular amongst the wealthy to display status.³⁴ Amongst the currently excavated houses, only 70 fishponds and 30 private baths were found.³⁵ Fountains, pools and ponds, like sculptures, created a focal point and ambience in an area.³⁶ Only 112 taps have been found in Pompeii so far (Figure 7.3).³⁷

Jansen discussed seven houses with water systems and how the pipe routes and distribution worked. The House of Diadumeni (IX.1.20) had pipes in one *peristylum* providing water to several fountains. Several fountains were supplied with water in two different sections of a house with a more complex piping system, as in the House of the Bear, the Fullonica di Marcus Vesonius Primus (VI.14.22), and the House of Cornelius Rufus (VIII.4.15).³⁸ At least four points were provided with water in the House of Caecilius Jucundus (V.1.26) and the House of Obellius Firmus (IX.14.4). The

³⁰ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 697.

³¹ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 699.

³² Jansen, 2001: 28.

³³ See Bruun (2012: 145), Jansen (2001: 27) and Jones & Robinson (2005: 699).

³⁴ Ellis, 2000: 136.

³⁵ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 699. Also see De Haan (2001: 41).

³⁶ Jashemski, 1993: 33.

³⁷ Keenan-Jones *et al.*, 2011: 135. Also see Jansen (2001: 29).

³⁸ Jansen, 2001: 31-36.

House of Ephebus (I.7.11) had its own small water tower inside the house (Figure 7.4).³⁹

Water from the overflow of fountain water was even purposefully drained into the street, in order for the general public to observe the excessive use of water and therefore the wealth of the owners.⁴⁰ Utilitarian water needs were still fulfilled by the cistern, thus piped water was exclusively for show and status display.⁴¹

7.2.3 Water Features

Some owners used the extravagant use of water and water features to display status.⁴² Not only were various forms of fountains used for the presentation of water but features such as *piscinae* (“fishponds”), *euripi* (“canals”), and *nymphaea* (“fountain-like features dedicated to the nymphs”) were included.⁴³

7.2.3.1 Fountains, nymphaea and shells

Fountains came in different shapes and sizes and were often derived from Greek prototypes.⁴⁴ Fountains could be simplistic like that in the House of the Faun; or incorporated with decorative garden ornamentations and sculptures as in the House of the Vettii; or as in the House of Meleager (VI.9.2) where the fountain was built inside a pool; or as a magnificent *nymphaeum* in an *aedicula* (“a small shrine in the shape of a temple building”)⁴⁵ form that was excessively decorated with mosaics and

³⁹ Jansen, 2001: 36.

⁴⁰ Ellis, 2000: 136.

⁴¹ Jones & Robinson, 2005: 702.

⁴² Jones & Robinson, 2005: 696.

⁴³ For the purpose of this study a fountain is any ornamental structure which projected water into the air often with a decorative basin. Functional uses of fountains, such as drinking fountains or wells, will not be discussed here. The mechanical/hydraulic workings of fountains and fishponds will not be discussed in such detail as it constitutes a study on its own.

⁴⁴ Zanker, 1998: 17.

⁴⁵ Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 637. Also see Thomas (2007: xxv) and Boëthius (1978: 241).

shells as in the House of the Little Fountain (VI.8.23) and the House of the Great Fountain (VI.8.22).⁴⁶

Pool fountains were often of simplistic pillar style as the pillar was submerged in the pool with only the jet opening above water (Figure 7.6). The sculptural fountains had a jet simply added to a sculpture. The sculpture was rarely built in such a way as to incorporate a water feature. The *aedicule*-shaped *nymphaeum* was derived from villa architecture, and was often impressive in size and decoration.⁴⁷ It mimicked temple architecture and was usually against a wall in the *pseudo-peristyle*⁴⁸ and placed in the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis, which indicates the importance of the fountain as seen in several houses (Figure 7.7).⁴⁹ The *nymphaeum* was on a few occasions combined with the *triclinium*.⁵⁰ *Aedicula* shaped *nymphaea* were often decorated in cult images with mosaics and marine shells (Figure 7.8).⁵¹

Pinto-Guillaume has observed many fountains richly decorated with marine shells that can still be seen in Pompeii,⁵² whereas Jashemski identified only eleven fountains decorated with mosaics and marine shells.⁵³ Shells have been used for various utilitarian purposes,⁵⁴ whereas imported and rare shells were mostly used as status indicators, for example as adornment, decoration on fountains and to produce purple dye.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Jashemski, 1993: 41.

⁴⁷ Gerevich, 1951: 83. Also see Zanker (1998: 147).

⁴⁸ A courtyard that did not have separate loose-standing columns (Riggs, 2012: 114) and has less than four sides of colonnades (Grahame, 2003: 172).

⁴⁹ Zanker, 1998: 181. Houses that had *aediculae* fountains included; the House of the Great Fountain (VI.8.22), the House of the Little Fountain (VI.8.23), and the House of the Bear (VII.2.45), House of the Grand Duke (VII.4.56), and House of the Scientist (VI. 14.43). The House of the Summer Triclinium (II.9.7) had two *aediculae* fountains facing each other built in front of a masonry *triclinium*.

⁵⁰ Gerevich, 1951: 84.

⁵¹ Ricotti, 1987: 171. Also see Zanker (1998: 152).

⁵² Pinto-Guillaume, 2002: 55.

⁵³ Jashemski, 1993: 41. I only observed three fountains with shells, the House with the Great Fountain, the House with the Little Fountain, and the House of the Scientist, all in Region VI.

⁵⁴ Coastal areas had abundant marine shells and thus a wider variety of purposes, such as for food, dye, tools, ornaments, for storage, and as game pieces (Trubitt, 2003: 243).

⁵⁵ Whalen, 2013: 629. Also see Trubitt (2003: 244) and Prentice (1987: 196).

The most prominent houses where various shells were found on fountains include the House of the Great Fountain, the House of the Little Fountain, and the House of the Bear (Figure 7.9).⁵⁶ Murex, knotted cockles and Venus shells were found on these particular fountains.⁵⁷ The fountain in the House of the Grand Duke (VII.4.56) contained murex, Mediterranean mussels⁵⁸ and fan mussels.⁵⁹ According to Pliny (*HN* 9.60) murex was a luxury equal to pearls.⁶⁰ Reese explains that excavations thus far in Pompeii “...produced more than 800 Mediterranean marine invertebrate remains, 61 marine shells from Indo-Pacific waters (Red Sea, Persian Gulf, or waters farther east), 43 freshwater bivalves, and about 75 land snails”.⁶¹ The Indo-pacific shells were of importance as they indicated trade and social status as an exotic product.⁶²

7.2.3.2 *Piscinae and Euripi*

Piscinae and *euripi* were often found together.⁶³ Romans did not, or very rarely, have outdoor swimming pools as we do today. They were either found in public bath houses or the select few houses that had a private *balneum*. Thus, when a pool in a garden is referred to, it usually means fishpond or decorative pool with fountains inside. According to De Haan, only three houses had outdoor swimming pools, including the House of the Silver Wedding, the House of the Centenary, and the Villa of Diomedes.⁶⁴

Only the extremely wealthy could afford *piscinae* in private gardens, as the building of a fishpond needed skills in the realms of architecture, hydraulics and biology,⁶⁵

⁵⁶ Reese, 2002b: 297.

⁵⁷ Reese, 2002b: 297, 300, 305.

⁵⁸ Reese, 2002b: 302.

⁵⁹ Reese, 2002b: 304.

⁶⁰ Also see Pinto-Guillaume (2002: 44).

⁶¹ Reese, 2002b: 292.

⁶² Reese, 2002b: 292. See Whalen (2013: 624-639) on how marine shells were linked to wealth and status in Mexico.

⁶³ Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 641.

⁶⁴ De Haan, 2001: 42.

⁶⁵ Higginbotham, 1997: 9.

and was thus very expensive to build and maintain,⁶⁶ and only the richest could afford one.⁶⁷ The House of the Citharist has one of the largest fish pools (10.8 x 3.5 x 1.4 m deep) in Pompeii. The second *peristylum* in the House of the Citharist, had a semi-circular pool added to the large rectangular pool.⁶⁸ Bronze sculptures of dogs attacking a boar and a snake decorated the edge of the semi-circular pool (Figure 7.10). The House of Meleager also had a relatively large pool (5.7 x 3.5 x 1.7 m deep), and although it was not as large as the pool in the House of the Citharist, it was more elaborate in design. The inside of the pool was painted blue and had a fountain in the centre and at the west end of the pool (Figure 7.11).⁶⁹ Fishponds were built for impressing visitors, either by merely having exotic fish or by raising expensive salt water fish for lavish banquets held by the wealthy.⁷⁰

A select few house gardens had an *euripus* and it was most often found in gardens not in *peristylum* form. These large canals often functioned as fish ponds as well. The House of Octavius Quartio had a large garden with two *euripi*.⁷¹ The canals had two temples, a *nymphaeum*, a pond, and a large fountain (Figure 7.12). The first garden in the House of Julia Felix had a large canal with small bridges and marble edging. The small bridges were to provide shade for fish (Figure 7.14).⁷² Fishponds and *euripi* became clear indicators of wealth, status and conspicuous consumption.⁷³

In a similar manner to how owners used fountains, so too did owners make use of pools in various ways to indicate conspicuous consumption. The owner of the House of the Citharist had a more spacious garden and had the opportunity to build a bigger, probably more expensive, pool. The smaller property of the House of Meleager only

⁶⁶ Bannon, 2009: 229.

⁶⁷ Higginbotham, 1997: 55.

⁶⁸ Jashemski, 1993: 34.

⁶⁹ Higginbotham, 1997: 33.

⁷⁰ Higginbotham, 1997: 57.

⁷¹ Tronchin (2011: 33-49) discusses the sculptures found in the garden of the House of Octavius Quartio in detail and considers the possible meanings of this eclectic mix.

⁷² Higginbotham, 1997: 26.

⁷³ Higginbotham, 1997: 64.

allowed a smaller pool, but to create the same level of conspicuousness a more extravagant pool with fountains was built.

7.3 NATURAL DECORATION IN THE HOUSE OF THE FAUN

The House of the Faun has two large, colonnaded *peristylia*, modelled after the Hellenistic gymnasium.⁷⁴ The second *peristylum* was almost half the length of the whole *insula* (1427 m²), possibly the largest *peristylum* in Pompeii (Figure 4.16). Both of the gardens were of simple design, with minimal water features, sculptures, and a simplistic layout of plants.

Several plants can be identified from the mosaics in the house such as the evergreen oak, ivy and lilies, which was preferred in *peristylum* gardens.⁷⁵ Other plants identified include pomegranates, blackberries, cherries, grapes and vines, quinces, roses, opium poppies, pine, and olives. As painted plants at the base of garden walls suggested a continuity of plants that grew there,⁷⁶ it is possible that plants depicted in mosaics were a representation of what was found in the garden.⁷⁷

A single, small marble fountain, from which water flowed into the small pool below,⁷⁸ can still be seen in the centre of the first *peristylum*, with surrounding box shrubs and cherry blossom trees (Figure 4.15).⁷⁹ The *puteal* found in the second *peristylum*,⁸⁰ was of similar style as the marble fountain and mimicked the fluted

⁷⁴ See Chapter 4 section 4.4.4. on the Hellenistic elements in the *peristylum* of the House of the Faun.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 5 for the discussion of the elements in the Tragic masks mosaic and the Cat and partridge mosaic.

⁷⁶ Jashemski *et al.*, 2002: 80

⁷⁷ The Alexander mosaic contained various Nilotic plants, but it is unlikely that any were found in the house.

⁷⁸ Jashemski, 1993: 34.

⁷⁹ Personal observation. Many gardens have been recreated based on seeds, pollen and roots found (Zanker, 1998: 168). However, it is not clear if the garden in the House of the Faun has accurately been recreated. See Ciarallo & Lippi (1993: 110-116) on their study on recreating the garden of *Casa dei Casti Amanti*. Also see Masson (1975: 45-47) on garden restoration in Pompeii.

⁸⁰ Jashemski, 1993: 145.

columns that surrounded the garden. This fountain was however not a model fountain and was not lavishly decorated with mosaics or marine shells or of great size. The only evidence of shells found in the House of the Faun was depicted in the mosaic found in the east *ala* (Figure 5.23) and the mosaic with sea animals (Figure 5.25). These shells include trumpet, cowrie, murex, scallop, and shrimp, the depiction of which probably indicates the owner's knowledge of status-bearing shells.⁸¹

There was no extravagant use of water by means of pools, fountains, or fishponds, nor any signs of piping. This house had two *impluvia* in both *atria*, but as an *impluvium* functioned with rain water and was not used for extravagant water usage, it did not need piping.

The House of the Faun does not comply with the set parameters for conspicuous styling of natural features. Various issues might explain why. The houses discussed here are all very small in size, and none of them has a four-sided *peristylum*, but mainly one-sided *pseudo-peristyles*. Several houses such as the House of the Vettii and the House of the Vestals were all from Region VI and VII. They were in very close proximity to the House of the Faun and were unable to expand their properties to an extravagant size like the House of the Faun. Owners thus could well have used alternative ways to display status, such as the extravagant use of water through water features.⁸² Houses with *aedicula* fountains most often did not have *peristylum* gardens, thus placing these highly decorative fountains in the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis to establish some form of status. These *aediculae* were also highly decorated with shells and mosaics. As certain shells were status symbols, it is possible

⁸¹ Reese, 2002b: 294, 295, 297, 304, 310. Shells as status indicators in Pompeii have not been investigated in much depth and presents an opportunity for further research. Reese (1982: 83-90) also studies fresh-water and marine molluscs in some Mediterranean sites. Breton (1999: 558-582) looks at the use of cowry in the Indonesian society of Wodani. Cowry was used as payment for various exchanges. Marine shells thus also had value in societies other than that of the Romans. Bergeron (2011: 169-189) focusses on shells as part of Carthaginian burial offerings. Marine shells, like the trumpet, were used in various cultures through the ages as part of religious objects (Bergeron, 2011: 169). For studies on marine shells in Italy see: Sear (1975); Pinto-Guilherme (2002); Reese (2002). For studies on shells in other societies see: Reese (1982); Prentice (1987); Breton (1999); Trubitt (2003); Bergeron (2011); Whalen (2013); Berg (2013); Bourquin & Mayhew (2013).

⁸² Jones & Robinson, 2005: 696.

that these houses used local, cheaper shells to imitate the status of the upper classes. The indicators set out in the parameters were in fact the poorer man's way of attempting to display conspicuous consumption and to imitate the status of the upper classes, once again showing a particularly Pompeian version of the "bandwagon" effect. The gardens in the House of the Faun were simple but large. The upkeep of such large gardens must have been extremely expensive, not to mention the amount of water that was needed to irrigate such a large property. Thus, by its size but by not having the features of other gardens, extreme conspicuous consumption of the "snob" effect variety, that disdains more complex forms of conspicuous consumption are actually indicated.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The "hairstyle" of the house or natural decoration included plants, the use of water and water features in gardens. The House of the Faun had two very large *peristylum* gardens. The first *peristylum* only had a small fountain and shallow fountain pool, and very few sculptures have been found in the second *peristylum*. While smaller gardens in other houses were lavishly provided with styling of natural elements, size and pure, simple grandeur were the only conspicuous aspects in the *peristylia* of the House of the Faun. As features like shell-decorated *aedicula* fountains, a *euripus*, piping, or sculptures crammed into the garden were mostly found in smaller houses presumably not as wealthy as the House of the Faun, this indicates the presence of both the "bandwagon" and "snob" effect.

7.5 IMAGES OF NATURAL DECORATION

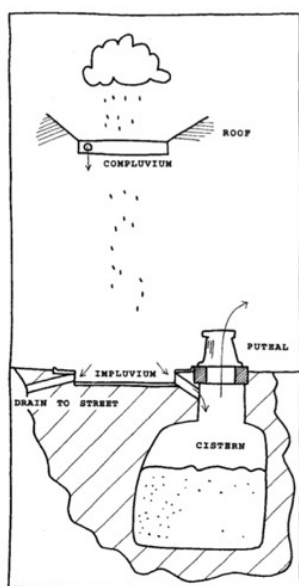


Figure 7.1: The workings of an *impluvium* (Jansen, 2009: 258) The opening in the roof, *compluvium*, of the *atrium* led rain water into the *impluvium* (Jansen, 2009: 258). The *impluvium* had two drains running underneath the floor which either led to the cistern or to the street. The cistern mouth was often covered by a *puteal*, a decorative cover to protect water from dirt (Jansen, 2009: 259)



a



b

Figure 7.2: Distribution box and pipes in a) the House of the Hanging Balcony (Jansen, 2001: 28); b) the House of the Bronze Bull (Staub, 2017)



Figure 7.3: Examples of taps found in Pompeii in the MANN

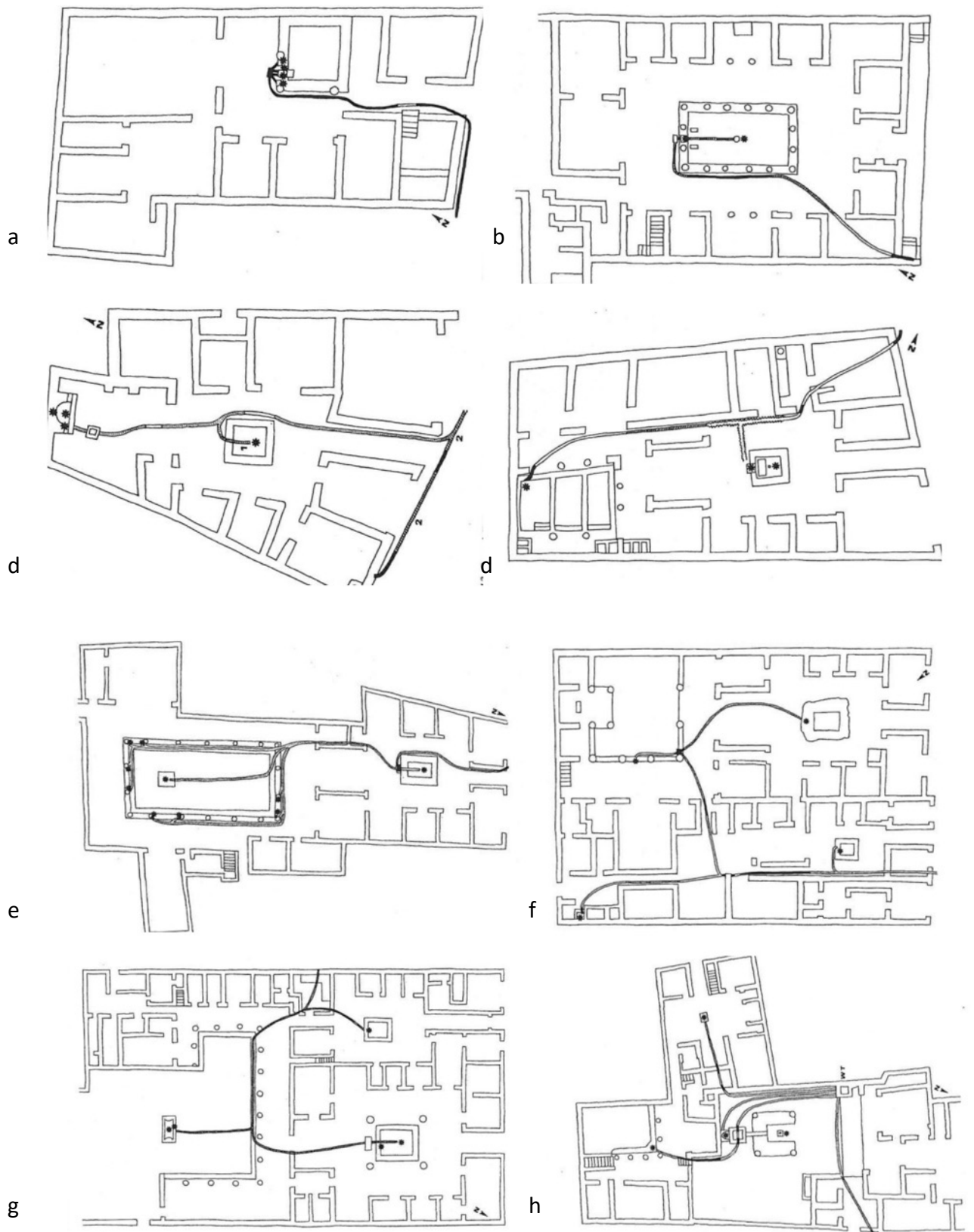


Figure 7.4: Water piping systems in the a) House of the Hanging Balcony; b) House of Diadumeni; c) House of the Bear; d) Fullonica di Vesonius Primus; e) House of Cornelius Rufus; f) House of Caecilius Jucundus; g) House of Obelli firmus; h) House of Ephebus (Jansen, 2001: 28, 32-36)



a



b

Figure 7.5: Fountain in the House of the Faun a) looking east; b) looking towards the second *peristylum* (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 7.6: A fountain inside a pool, House of the Dioscuri (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 7.7: *Nymphaeum* placed in the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* axis, House of the Great Fountain



a



b



c

Figure 7.8: *Nymphaeum* in the House of the Little Fountain a) images created in mosaics and marine shells; b) close up of shells; and c) marine shells



a



b



c



d

Figure 7.9: *Aedicula nymphaea* found in the a) House of the Great Fountain; b) House of the Great Fountain before restoration (Dunn & Dunn, 2017); c) House of the Little Fountain; d) House of the Bear (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 7.10: The pool in the House of Citharist (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 7.11: The pool and fountain in the House of Meleager (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 7.12: The House of Octavius Quartio a) Floor plan showing the garden and euripus (Zanker, 1998: 146); b) fountain and pool; c) looking north over fishpond; d) looking south over euripus; e) small pavilion looking south and f) looking north (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)



Figure 7.13: *Ephebos* statue from the House of the Faun (MANN, 2017)



Figure 7.14: The *euripus* in the House of Julia Felix (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)

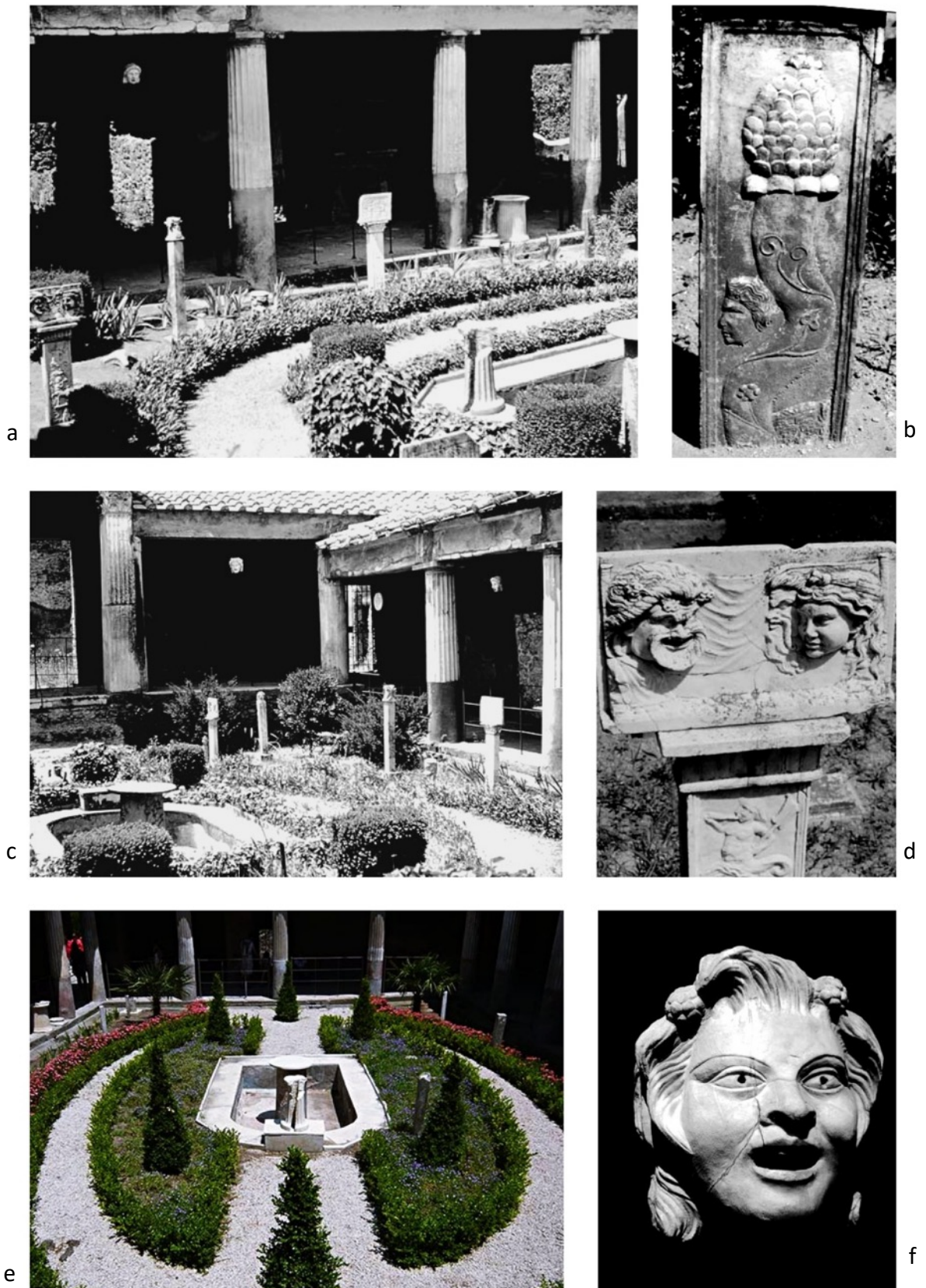


Figure 7.15: The *peristylum* garden of the House of the Golden Cupid a) garden sculptures (Jashemski, 1964: J64f1871); b) marble pedestal (Jashemski, 1968: J68f0195); c) looking north-west over garden (Jashemski, 1957: J57f0134); d) marble relief (Jashemski, 1978: J68f0200); e) recreated garden (Dunn & Dunn, 2017); f) marble satyr, hanging sculpture (Jashemski, 1978: J78f0587)

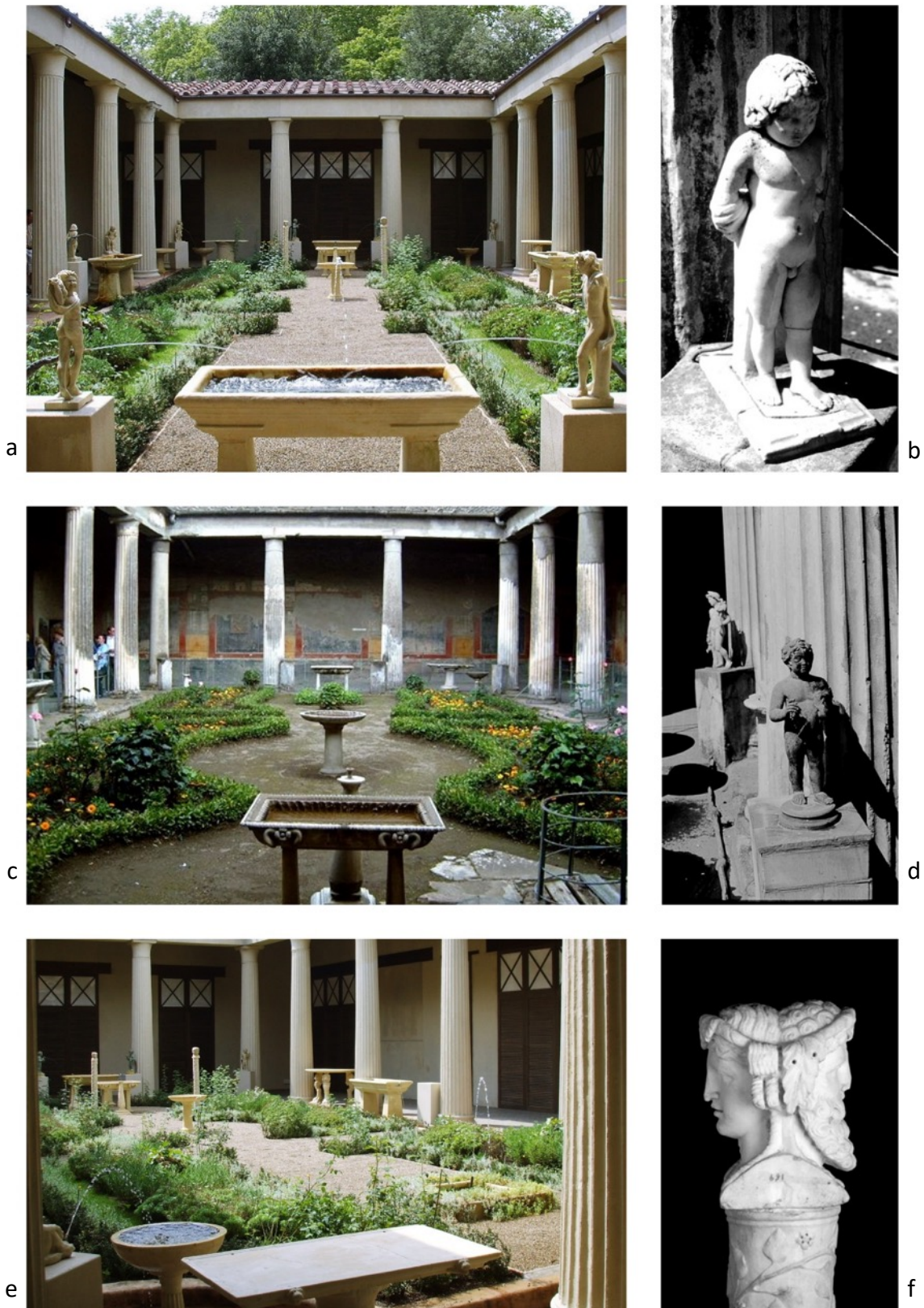


Figure 7.16: The *peristylum* garden of the House of Vettii; a) Exact replica of the garden in Florence (Unknown, 2010); b) fountain incorporated in marble sculpture (Jashemski, 1968: J68f0687); c) restored garden in Pompeii (Dunn & Dunn, 2017); d) fountain sculptures (Jashemski, 1978: J68f0686); e) exact replica of the garden in Florence (Sailko, 2007); f) herm with bust of Dionysus and Ariadne (Dunn & Dunn, 2017)

8 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to determine the different forms of conspicuous consumption displayed within Roman domestic spaces, with particular focus on the House of the Faun in Pompeii. Sumptuary laws aimed at women were used to identify how women displayed conspicuous consumption. Female display of conspicuous consumption was then used to identify the domestic spatial display of conspicuous consumption from early second century BCE until 79 CE when Pompeii was destroyed. This chapter provides a brief summary of the previous chapters, discusses the key findings and makes recommendations for future studies.

8.1 KEY FINDINGS

Several conclusions can be made based on this research study.

The Roman woman can be used as an analogy for the Roman house, especially in the sense of how conspicuous consumption was displayed. This analogy can also be used for modern studies on women and the domestic space.

After establishing this analogy, the different forms of conspicuous consumption displayed within the House of the Faun in Pompeii were determined from the early second century BCE until 79 CE. Conspicuous consumption was first and foremost expressed through the physical size and grandeur of the house, establishing the owner's status before even entering the house. Linked to the size of the house was the number of rooms, in other words, a larger property meant more rooms. The House of the Faun had multiple *peristylia*, *triclinia*, and an *exedra* which indicated the importance and social status of the owner. Both *peristylia* had columns on all four sides with large decorative gardens. Conspicuous displays of Hellenistic inspirations were well represented in this house through artistic themes and styles. A greater number of rooms were decorated with frescoes or mosaics and only a few rooms remained undecorated. The artistic techniques, materials, colours, themes and sizes

of various art all displayed conspicuous consumption to some extent. It is also likely that the house had a few but high-quality sculptures and furniture.

After identifying the various forms of conspicuous consumption within the House of the Faun it is also clear that the level of conspicuous consumption increased as the levels of social interaction and exclusivity increased. An increased level of social interaction taking place in a space together with its exclusivity implied that symbolic meaning was given to objects and spaces. This means increased levels of conspicuous consumption were displayed. The opposite is also true, namely, that increased levels of conspicuous consumption displays in each room corresponded to the level of social interaction and exclusivity of the rooms in the House of the Faun.

The House of the Faun is a model house for displaying conspicuous consumption in Pompeii. This house complied with the parameters set for conspicuousness in terms of the architectural structure, immovable decoration and movable decoration. However, the natural decoration elements in the House of the Faun did not comply with the determined parameters but instead indicated more conspicuousness by not complying with these parameters. Compliance in this area turned out to be a way for smaller houses to display conspicuous consumption. Thus, by not complying to the conspicuous parameters that were associated with smaller houses the House of the Faun is a good example of the “snob” effect taking place in Pompeii, rather than the “bandwagon” effect exhibited by these smaller houses whose conspicuous consumption displays lay in quantity not quality.

Ancient domestic conspicuous consumption is not much different from modern domestic conspicuous consumption. Today, wealthy homeowners still have large plots of lands with enormous structures, with more rooms than are actually needed. Expensive paintings are often collected from famous artists, and floors are laid with rare and expensive stones or marble tiles. Every room is furnished with expensive, high quality furniture. Large gardens are designed by landscape architects often with water features and swimming pools. Today, however, the majority of houses do have

piping for water, gardens are not created within the confines of the house, *peristylia* gardens are not customary and room functions are different.

Overall, this study contributes to the under-researched field of conspicuous consumption in the Roman *domus*. Not only does it identify conspicuous consumption in the House of the Faun, but it does so from a perspective not previously considered.

The perspective, methods and the research findings of this study can be applied to any house in Pompeii in order to determine conspicuous consumption and the different levels of conspicuous consumption within a *domus*.

8.2 AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

From this study several questions arise which could be considered for further exploration and expansion on the topic. The domestic section of the house, which is closed to the public, can be more closely examined in terms of conspicuous consumption. Physical examination of artefacts and biological material, such as marine shells and plant remains, could yield further in-depth information in order to determine a possible connection to conspicuous consumption in the domestic context. The gardens in the House of the Faun could be studied and recreated according to archaeobotanical finds to determine whether rare or expensive plants like *Citrus* trees were planted there. Paint pigments of each room in the House of the Faun can also be analysed to determine origin, composition and how expensive the paints were.

The study on women and conspicuous consumption can be expanded to look at how the woman was used as a movable conspicuous art object within the house. The same paint was often used to decorate walls and women's faces. It can then be said that a woman was a work of art moving around the house. It is then possible that the *paterfamilias* used his women as movable art in highly conspicuous and exclusive

spaces. The study of conspicuous consumption in ancient Italy is still ripe for further exploration.

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10 ADDENDUM A: Glossary of Latin Terms

References for these translations can be found in text. Latin terms used across various chapters are indicated here, not chapter specific terms.

<i>ala</i> :	an open room on the side of the atrium.
<i>atrium (atria)</i> :	a large courtyard-like structure surrounded by smaller rooms.
<i>cliens (clientes)</i> :	the client, this included relatives, freedmen and slave who worked for the <i>paterfamilias</i> , and a "...group of unattached persons who made the daily rounds of salutations to assure their political and economic security". ¹
<i>cubiculum</i> :	similar to a bedroom, but not solely for sleeping.
<i>domus</i> :	private property and house.
<i>emblema (emblemata)</i> :	mosaic panel, usually with intricate detailed pictures.
<i>exedra</i> :	"a term often applied in domestic or public architecture to a largish room with one side open to a courtyard and/or portico". ²
<i>fauces</i> :	after entering the front door one walks into a narrow passageway leading into the <i>atrium</i> .
<i>impluvium</i> :	a basin in the centre of the <i>atrium</i> to collect rain water, often had a cistern below.
<i>insula</i> :	a city block or apartment block.
<i>lararium</i> :	a household shrine dedicated to the <i>lares</i> .
<i>lares</i> :	household guardian deities.
<i>lex</i> :	a law.
<i>lectus</i> :	a bed and/or couch.
<i>oecus</i> :	a reception room.

¹ Clarke, 1991: 4.

² Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 641.

<i>paterfamilias:</i>	oldest living male of a family. He was the father of his family, and he was "...the towering and forbidding figure at the head of the household, severe and authoritarian, sometimes arbitrary and downright tyrannical, but also righteous and just. He ruled supreme over his wife - the chaste and industrious mistress of the house, spending even her spare time on spinning and weaving. He lorded it over his adult sons - brave and dedicated to service to the state (<i>res publica</i>) in war and peace but obediently returning under their father's roof and unquestioningly submitting to his authority. Similarly, his daughters obediently awaited their father's choice of husbands, even as his daughters-in-law were bringing forth and rearing the youngest generation of the family. The father held sway over the slaves and freedmen - hardworking, loyal, and devoted to their master - and over the family property, house, land, and cattle". ³
<i>patronus:</i>	the patron, usually the <i>paterfamilias</i> , the protector, sponsor, and benefactor of the client.
<i>peristylum:</i>	an open courtyard surrounded by columns, and a covered portico, often with a decorative garden and the family living quarters. ⁴
<i>salutatio:</i>	one of the forms of attention that forms part of the <i>clientela</i> and took place in the <i>atrium</i> of the patron's house.
<i>tablinum:</i>	"a multifunctional room in a Roman house associated with the <i>paterfamilias</i> , used as bedroom, reception, storage and office space. it is identified as an open-fronted room set at or near the back of the <i>atrium</i> , usually on axis with the <i>fauces</i> ". ⁵
<i>triclinium:</i>	a room for dining with three couches on which diners reclined.
<i>vestibulum:</i>	the space between the street and the front door.

³ Hölkeskam, 2006: 114.

⁴ Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 645.

⁵ Foss & Dobbins, 2009: 647.

11 ADDENDUM B: Summary of Sumptuary laws

Law	Date	Description
<i>Lex Metilia Fullinibus Dicta</i>	220 BC	Controlled the detergent use of launderers (Aubert, 2004: 168). “[T]he regulations of laundering shielded the senators who wore a toga praetexta (white with a purple stripe on the edge) from the shame attached to the publicity of vastly unequal garb” (Aubert, 2004: 168).
<i>Lex Oppia sumptuaria</i>	215-195 BC	Limited women in terms of the possession of gold, coloured clothing, private carriages in town (Aubert, 2004: 169).
<i>Lex Orchia de cenis sumptuaria</i>	182-181 BC	Limited the number of guests invited to private banquets (Rosivach, 2006: 2).
<i>Lex Voconia</i>	169 BC	“It kept any woman, even an only daughter, from inheriting more than half of an estate in the highest property class...” (Culham, 2004: 151). Also see (Sirks, 1994: 273-296).
<i>Lex Fannia sumptuaria</i>	161 BC	Limited the number of guests at private banquets to maximum of three on normal days and five on market days (de Ligt, 2015: 378). Consumption of certain foods (<i>obsonium</i>) (Rosivach, 2006: 4), banned poultry (one hen per day) (Rosivach, 2006: 5) and restricted consumption of meat (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 14).
<i>Lex Didia</i>	143 BC	Extension of the <i>lex Fannia</i>
<i>Lex Aemilia sumptuaria</i>	115 BC	Prohibitions of certain food products served at dinners (no limits on fruit, vegetables, local wine) (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 14) and extravagance on women wear (Brundage, 1987: 344)
<i>Lex Licinia sumptuaria</i>	103 BC	Quantity of meat and smoked meat was limited (1kg of smoked meat per day, 0.3kg of salted fish per day). However, no limits on fruit, vegetables, local wine (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 14).
<i>Lex Cornelia sumptuaria</i>	81 BC	Imported exotic delicacies were subject to regulation (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 14). Maximum prices on luxury goods (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 15).

<i>Lex Antia sumptuaria</i>	70-68 BC	Forbade magistrates and candidates for public offices to accept invitations from individuals of lower social standing (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 13).
<i>Lex Iulia Caesaris</i>	46 BC	Number and social standing of guests were regulated (Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka, 2012: 13).
<i>Lex Iulia sumptuaria</i>	18 BC	Restricted banquet expenses.

12 ADDENDUM C: Houses discussed, according to Region

House Name	Ref No	Size	Rooms	Aspects discussed in this study
Region I				
Casca Longus	I.6.11	496	16	Marble <i>cartibulum</i>
Citharist	I.4.5	2318	50+	3x <i>peristylia</i> , bronze sculptures, fishpond (10.8 x 3.5 x 1.4 m deep)
Ephebus	I.7.11	654	20+	Water tower, water system with pipes
Menander	I.10.4	1825	40+	Mosaics, <i>Fauces-atrium-tablinum</i> axis, private baths
Paquius Proculus	I.7.1	809	14	<i>Vestibulum</i> , <i>fauces</i> and <i>atrium</i> mosaics
Region II				
Julia Felix	II.4.3-12	5664	20+	2x non- <i>peristylum</i> gardens, <i>euripus</i> , fishpond, furniture (<i>mensa</i>)
Octavius Quartio	II.2.2	2439	13	Garden, <i>euripus</i> , fishpond, fountains, sculptures
Summer Triclinium	II.9.7	n.a.		Two <i>aedicula</i> shaped <i>nymphaea</i> , decorated with mosaics and shells
Regio V				
Bronze Bull	V.1.7	757	20	Distribution box with pipes (Figure 6.2)
Caecilius Jucundus	V.1.26	610	17	Water system with pipes
Silver Wedding	V.2.i	1973	25+	Swimming pool, <i>peristylum</i> and two non- <i>peristylum</i> gardens
Region VI				
Dioscuri	VI.9.6	1121	20+	2 <i>peristylia</i> , large pool and small basin
Faun	VI.12.2	2854	30+	Architecture, art, furniture, sculptures, gardens
Fullonica di Marcus Vesonius Primus	VI.14.22	n.a.		Water system with pipes
Golden Cupids	VI.16.7	759	15	Decorative garden sculptures
Great Fountain	VI.8.22	540	10	<i>Aedicula</i> shaped <i>nymphaeum</i> , decorated with mosaics and shells
Labyrinth	VI.11.9	1869	24	Located opposite the House of the Faun, and used as a comparison
Little Fountain	VI.8.23	613	15	<i>Aedicula</i> shaped <i>nymphaeum</i> , decorated with mosaics and shells
Meleager	VI.9.2	1281	24	Fountain inside fishpond (5.7 x 3.5 x 1.7 m deep)
Scientist	VI.14.43	n.a.		<i>Aedicula</i> shaped <i>nymphaeum</i> , decorated

				with mosaics and shells
Tragic Poet	VI.8.3	367	11	<i>Vestibulum</i> mosaic
Vestals	VI.1.7	1107	30+	Water system with pipes, fishpond
Vettii	VI.15.1	1167	18	Fourth Style art, Priapus in <i>vestibulum</i> , fountains, sculptures, <i>arca</i> (Figure 6.17)
Region VII				
Bear	VII.2.45	196	8	<i>Vestibulum</i> mosaic, water system with pipes, <i>Aedicula</i> shaped <i>nymphaeum</i> , decorated with mosaics and shells
Coloured Capitals	VII.4.31	1618	40+	2 <i>peristylia</i> , fishpond
Figured Capitals	VII.4.57	870	17	Used as example of typical <i>peristylium domus</i>
Grand Duke	VII.4.56	225	11	<i>Aedicula</i> shaped <i>nymphaeum</i> , decorated with mosaics and shells
Hanging Balcony	VII.12.28			Fully preserved water system with pipes
Siricus	VII.1.47	740	21	<i>Vestibulum</i> mosaic
Region VIII				
Cornelius Rufus	VIII.4.15	868	18	Water system with pipes
Doves	VIII.2.34	863	17	<i>Triclinium</i> mosaic
Geometric Mosaics	VIII.2.16	2211	30+	<i>Triclinium</i> mosaic
Region IX				
Centenary	IX.8.6	2175	40+	<i>Fauces</i> mosaic, swimming pool
Diadumeni	IX.1.20	957	20+	Water system with pipes
Grand Duke of Tuscany	IX.2.27			Mosaic
Obellius Firmus	IX.14.4	1950	35+	Water system with pipes

13 ADDENDUM D: Gardens with water features

House Name	Ref No	Size	Rooms	Peristylum type	Pipes	Water features:			Euripus	Nymphaem
						Fountain	Pool/Fishpond	(size)		
Anchor	VI.10.7	710	12							X
Apolline	Vi.7.23					X				
Bear	VII.2.45	196	8							<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells
Black walls	VII.4.59	676	19		Pipes		X			
Bronze Bull	V.1.7,9	757	20	3-sided	Pipes, baths	X	X			<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells
Centenary	IX.8.6	2175	40		Baths		X			<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells
Citharist	I.4.5,25	2318	50	x3	Pipes, bath	X	X	(10.8x3.5x1.4 m)		
Col. Capitals	VII.4.31, 51	1618	40	x2			X	(2x5.9x1m)		
Cryptoporticus	I.6.2	1188	14		Baths					
Dioscuri	VI.9.6	1121	20	4-sided and 2-sided			X			
Fabius Rufus	VII.16.17 -22	4973	40		Pipes		X			
Golden Bracelet	VI.17.42	467	6			Combined with triclinium	X	(28 jets in pool)		X
Golden cupids	VI.16.7.3 8	759	15				X			
Grand duke	VII.4.56	225	11	2-sided			X	3 basins attached to <i>Aedicula</i>		<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells
Great fountain	VI.8.22	540	15							<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells

Hanging balcony	VII.12.28				Pipes					
Hunt/ Wild boar	VII.4.48	454	17	2-sided	Pipes		X			
House of the Summer triclinium	II.9.7			Vineyard						<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells x2
Julia Felix	II.4.3-12	5664	20+	x2 non-peristylum	Bath		X		X	
Labyrinth	VI.11.9	1869	24		Baths					
Little fountain	VI.8.23	613	10	1-sided						<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells
M Lucretius	IX.3.5	625	30		Pipes	X	X			
Meleager	VI.9.2	1281	24			X (in pool)	X	(3.5x5.7x1.7 m)		
Menander	I.10.4	1800			Baths					
Octavius Quartio	II.2.2	2439	13	Non-peristylum		X			X	
Pansa	VI.6.1	2106	17				X			
Scientist	VI.14.43			2-sided						<i>Aedicula</i> , mosaic/shells
Silver Wedding	V.2.i	1973	25	4-sided and 2-sided	Baths	X	X			
Vestals	VI.1.6-8,25	1107	30		Pipes, baths		X			
Vettii	VI.15.1	1167	18	4-sided	Pipes	X				
C. Vibius	VII.2.18	745	17	4-sided			X			

14 ADDENDUM E: Checklist used for research in Pompeii

Name of house:	
Region:	
Time period:	
Number of entrances:	
Size:	Meters: Rooms:
Layout:	
Fauces	
Atrium	No: Style:
Impluvium	No: Statues:
Ala	
Tablinum	No: Style:
Triclinium	No: Style:
Cubicula	No: Style:
Peristyle	No: How many colonnades:
Garden	Fountain: Statues:
Bathrooms	Tepidarium: Caldarium:
Kitchen	
Exedra	
Decoration	How many rooms have wall decoration: Style: Mosaics: Mythological paintings:
Furniture found	
Fountains	
Shells	Where: Types: Imported:
Piped water	

15 ADDENDUM F: Foldout floorplan, House of the Faun

Rooms in the House of the Faun:

- 1 *fauces*
- 2 Tuscan *atrium*
- 3-5 *cubicula*
- 6, 10 *alae*
- 7, 9 *triclinia*
- 8 *tablinum*
- 11, 33 *alae*
- 12-13 *cubicula*
- 14 *peristylum*
- 15, 17 *triclinia*
- 16 *exedra*
- 18 corridor
- 19 *cubiculum*
- 20 *peristylum*
- 21 cellar
- 22 *culina*
- 23-24 *balnea*
- 25-26 closet
- 27-28 corridor
- 29 *cubiculum*
- 30-32 unknown
- 34-35 possibly storerooms
- 36 unknown
- 37 *fauces*
- 38 storeroom
- 39 tetrastyle *atrium*

